

The Communist

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1941

DEFEAT HITLER AND HITLERISM!

PEOPLE'S PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE

MANIFESTO, NATIONAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY

VICTORY WILL BE OURS!

JOSEPH STALIN

Plenary Meeting, National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER



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EDITORIALS

FOR NATIONAL UNITY TO DEFEAT HITLER

ENOUGH time has already elapsed since the fateful morning of June 22, when Hitler's fascist armies brazenly attacked the Soviet Union, to indicate the general trend of mass opinion in this country. It is the crystallizing opinion that the necessity has come for the people of the United States as well as for the people of the Soviet Union and of England, and of all peoples, to merge their efforts for the defeat and destruction of the common enemy. Every new day widens and strengthens this opinion in the United States.

The pledge of the American Government to aid the Soviet Union in the struggle to defeat Hitlerism is thus in full conformity with the sentiments and desires of the masses of our people. The political importance of this pledge and commitment is very great. It expresses the sympathy of the United States for the glorious fight of the Soviet people and its Red Army against the fascist barbaric enslavers. It expresses the consciousness of the American masses, despite all efforts to deceive them, that the new turn to involvement of the Soviet Union in the war does in fact change the character of the war, that it has be-

come a war for defense and of all the peoples of the world against Nazi enslavement. It accords with the American people's understanding that their own country is in danger and their willingness to defend it in the common cause of the people of the world. It expresses a readiness of this great country to come to the support of the Soviet Union and Great Britain in their common fight against Hitler. It opens the way for the development of collaboration in the pursuit of the common task to defeat and destroy German fascism.

What is necessary now is to translate the pledges of the government into practical and specific deeds. And since time is of the essence, the American people cannot afford to lose too much of it. Yet we find an inclination in various governing circles to take it easy and to go slow on the matter of practical aid to the Soviet Union. Why? The explanation given in some quarters, that there are too many obstacles in the way of our aid to the Soviet Union, is patently unsatisfactory. If there are such obstacles, and there are, these should be overcome and not used as an excuse for not doing a thing that the American Government has recognized as necessary and vital to the security of the United States.

For example: Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* lists no less

than eight reasons why the United States cannot do much by way of practical aid to the Soviet Union (*New York Times*, June 28). Some of them are strategic and geographical, and with these we need not concern ourselves at this moment, since the really important reasons are political. The political considerations, as summarized by Krock, are the following: "opposition of large, influential groups in the United States"; "hatred for Communism in the countries subjugated by Hitler"; "a similar situation in many nations of Latin America."

That there are in the United States *influential* groups that oppose aid to the Soviet Union is a fact well known. But these are the groups whose anti-national and reactionary position is voiced by the Hoovers, Lindberghs and Wheelers, by people that are willing to come to terms with Hitler by betraying the most vital interests of the United States. Do Arthur Krock and the *New York Times* mean to suggest that the American Government should sacrifice the interests of the American people to these pro-fascist groups? The misled and temporary rank-and-file followers of the Lindberghs *can and will be* won over to the people's struggle against Hitler.

As to the "hatred for Communism in the countries subjugated by Hitler," the real question is who exactly are these "haters"? That too is well known. They are the Pétains, Darlans and all the other Quislings of German fascism. These are the tools and agents of Hitler. And by

the same token, they are the enemies of the United States. Do Arthur Krock and the *New York Times* mean to suggest that the policy of the American Government should seek to placate and satisfy the European Quislings, which means Hitler?

Should Mr. Krock come back and say that he meant the *peoples* of Europe subjugated by Hitler and not the Quislings, he would find himself in even greater difficulty. For who does not know today that the one and only hatred of these peoples is of the fascist conqueror and its Quislings; that the chief and most cherished desire of these European peoples is to free themselves of the fascist oppressor and his native servants; that therefore they desire nothing so ardently as the collaboration of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain for the military defeat of German and Italian fascism? Who today does not know these facts?

It all boils down to this: if you seek to placate and satisfy Hitler's agents in the occupied countries of Europe, then you will naturally oppose American aid to the Soviet Union; but then you will also betray the most vital national interests of the United States. On the other hand, if you seek to meet the desire of the *peoples* of the occupied countries, if you wish to promote and help their own struggles for the overthrow of Hitlerism and thus strengthen the fight of *our own country* against Hitler, then you will work with all your might for aid to the Soviet Union, for collaboration with it against the common enemy;

then you will be fighting successfully for the defense of America and its people.

Similarly in Latin America. Mr. Krock says that "while Mexico and Chile stand for effective aid to the Soviet, the program would be most unpopular in the Argentine, Brazil, Colombia and Peru." Unpopular among what particular groups? Precisely among those groups, reactionary and pro-fascist, that are orientating on a Hitler victory. Are these groups the friends of the democratic and anti-Hitler forces of the United States? No: they are the enemies of the United States. Does Mr. Krock want an American policy satisfactory to these enemies of our country?

The American people are interested in an American policy that could be approved and supported by the peoples of Latin America; by their anti-fascist, progressive and national forces. These are the true friends of the United States and dependable allies in the fight to defeat Hitlerism. On them American policy must orientate.

And who will object? Certainly not the peoples of Latin America and their national representatives; and this is true for the Argentine, Peru, Brazil and Colombia as it is true in Mexico and Chile. These peoples and their national representatives are mortal enemies of fascism. They want aid to the Soviet Union. They are ready to collaborate with the United States and with all peoples to defeat and destroy fascism. Hence, a program of aid to the Soviet Union by the United States will be enthusiastic-

ly supported by the peoples of Latin America.

To be sure, there will be objections and opposition, in this country and in Latin America. In the latter, there will be opposition from the friends of Hitler and Mussolini and Franco—from all potential and actual Quislings, from the enemies of the United States. In this country, the opposition will come—is coming—from those reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie which want the United States to enslave the nations of Latin America the way Hitler enslaves the conquered peoples of Europe and threatens to enslave all over peoples, including our own. Hence, these reactionary circles in the United States bitterly oppose any American policy toward Latin America that is based on fraternal collaboration between nations. But to permit these reactionaries to dictate United States policy for Latin America means to make impossible the collaboration between ourselves and our southern neighbors. It means to endanger the common fight against Hitler. It means to play into the hands of Hitler.

Is this what the *New York Times* and Mr. Krock want?

Of course, their answer will be: No. They will continue to argue that, since the obstacles to American aid to the Soviet Union are almost "insurmountable," the best thing to do is to increase aid to England, that in itself being a measure of aid to the Soviet Union. To which the answer is that it is not as simple as that. It may be true and it may not be true, depending upon

a number of vital circumstances; and these have to be examined.

Aid to England at the present time does mean aid to the struggle against fascism. In the present new world situation every enemy of fascism urges and supports such aid, which also becomes a form of aid to the Soviet Union. And if that were all that was involved here, this would be the end of the argument. But when certain influential elements in this country begin to project aid to England as a *substitute* for aid to the Soviet Union, arguing from allegedly "insurmountable" difficulties, among which the chief difficulty seems to be the opposition of the Hoovers-Lindberghs-Wheelers, then it is necessary to get on the alert. It is necessary to inquire immediately whether or not we are dealing here with a *political tendency* to placate Hitler's friends in the United States, to conciliate the potential Quislings in this country, to appease the appeasers, to follow a course of *gradually* compromising the fight against Hitler, of *gradually* surrendering to Hitler the freedom and independence of the United States.

We do not say that the *New York Times* and Arthur Krock already express that kind of a political current, but the germ of it is there, and it may lead to the slackening of American aid to England too. For, if the opposition of the Lindberghs, Hoovers and Wheelers is an "insurmountable" obstacle to American aid to the Soviet Union, then this same opposition may become an equally "insurmountable" obstacle to American aid to England. Will

the *New York Times* give in to that also?

What is the true present position of the Lindberghs, Hoovers and Wheelers on the struggle against fascism? They are opposed to this struggle. They want to come to terms with Hitler by betraying the most vital interests of the United States. For these reasons they oppose *in fact* aid to England as they oppose aid to the Soviet Union. With this tactical difference: aid to the Soviet Union they oppose directly and openly while aid to England they still oppose indirectly and secretly. Lindbergh does it clumsily, and thus exposes his "friendship" for the British people as sheer fraud. Hoover does it more cleverly. He pretends to be favoring aid to England because he hopes that this will win him a hearing among the masses of the American people for his opposition to aid to the Soviet Union. By the same means he seeks to strengthen his contacts with the appeasers of fascism in England, which he could not do successfully if he were openly opposing aid to that country.

It is therefore certain that sooner or later the Lindberghs, Hoovers and Wheelers will begin to oppose more openly and directly aid to England also. And then their treacherous game will become fully exposed. *But the fight against Hitler cannot wait for that.* Those who really mean to defend America and defeat Hitler must realize *now* that the proposal to treat aid to England as a "substitute" for aid to the Soviet Union is a move in the direction of Lindbergh and Hoover; that

it is a most serious concession to the pro-fascists in the United States; that it endangers the most vital interests of our country and people.

Therefore, what is the answer? It is contained in "The People's Program of Struggle for the Defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism" adopted by the National Committee of the Communist Party (June 28-29) upon the report of Comrade Foster on the new world situation. This program says:

"The American people will support every action of the government to prosecute the struggle to defeat German fascism and to aid the Soviet Union, and they will not fail—they must not fail—to speak out plainly against every tendency of the American Government to conciliate the enemies of the nation—to appease the appeasers."

And who are these enemies of the nation? Whom do they represent and speak for?

"The Hoovers and Lindberghs, the Wheelers and Norman Thomases, the Coughlins and Hearsts, these are the spokesmen of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. These constitute the core of the fifth column. They pursue the policies of the Chamberlains and the Cliveden Set in Great Britain, the policies of the betrayers and capitulators of France. They therefore represent the greatest menace to the American people. This menace must be exposed and fought against relentlessly, because only thus can the people secure effective aid by the American Government to the Soviet and British

peoples for the successful struggle to defeat Hitlerism."

The defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism is the task of all tasks facing now the American people and all peoples, and everything must be done to achieve victory in the struggle. The glorious and just war of the Soviet people and its mighty armed forces against Hitler's fascist armies will merge with the struggles of all peoples of Europe, the Americas, Asia and Africa to destroy the common enemy. From these historic developments follow the objectives and slogans of the American people in the present world situation. They are:

Defend America by giving full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all nations that fight against Hitler. For full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of fascism. For a government policy of democratic struggle against fascism.

LABOR'S ROLE IN THE NATIONAL UNITY AGAINST HITLER

ORGANIZED labor in the United States faces now a great opportunity of historic service to the nation and to its working class. It faces a great responsibility and duty.

"... It is the duty of the working class to lead the fight to establish American-Soviet-British collabora-

tion for the defeat of Hitlerism and to make this the official and active policy of the government." ("The People's Program of Struggle for the Defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.")

The fundamental change in the world situation, which makes this program necessary and possible, is only several weeks old, but weeks full of tremendous happenings. Grave dangers confront the peoples as a result of Hitler's unprovoked and brazen attack upon the Soviet Union, dangers that are threatening the national and social security of the United States. But equally great opportunities—opportunities to defeat and destroy the monstrous enemy—have opened up before all peoples as a result of the magnificent fight of the Red Army against the fascist invaders, a fight backed by the united efforts of the Soviet people, whose struggle will merge with the struggles of all peoples that are enslaved or threatened with enslavement by fascism.

American labor, realizing the significance of these profound changes, and remaining true to its consistent and uncompromising hostility to fascism and Hitlerism, must come forward as the chief support and backbone of the people's fight against its most dangerous and vicious enemy—fascism. Progressive labor and its representatives have therefore the special task to do all in their power to enable the working class and all common people to move over, as rapidly as possible, to new positions for the carrying forward of the old struggle against the fascist enemy. And this

is already beginning to take place. What is required is *utmost concentration and greater speed* for the tackling and realization of this job.

Naturally, there are obstacles to be overcome. And the clearer these obstacles are seen, the more easily they will be removed by the masses of the people.

Let us begin with the obstacles that are being set up by people like Norman Thomas and Senator Wheeler, the collaborators and allies of Lindbergh and Hoover. The line of these people has not changed. It is the line of letting Hitler win. But they have changed their tactics. They try to misrepresent the new world situation as a fight between "communism and fascism." And they add: "Since Hitler is now busy with Russia, this is our opportunity to preserve our own peace and take care of our own affairs."

Norman Thomas peddles around this treacherous stuff in the name of "Socialism," but he betrays Socialism every time he opens his mouth. Senator Wheeler emits the same sort of poison but insists that it is good for the American people "because" he has always been a progressive and a friend of labor. He even calls to witness the Presidential ticket of LaFollette-Wheeler in 1924. But Senator Wheeler has been destroying and betraying his progressive past ever since he began to collaborate with the Lindberghs, Hoovers and Hearsts.

The true position of the Wheelers and Thomases has never been one of true peace. It always tended to facilitate a Hitler victory, a fact to

which we have called repeated attention but which, unfortunately, has not sufficiently penetrated certain sections of our people. Now, however, it has become easier to unmask these fake "peace" advocates, these virtual supporters of a Hitler victory. Why? Because now it is *Hitlerism* that is the greatest menace to the national and social security of the United States and not all imperialists equally as was the case prior to June 22. Because *now it has become possible to merge*, to unite the struggles of all peoples enslaved and threatened with enslavement by Hitlerism in a common and genuine struggle against fascism and for the liberation, freedom and independence of all nations. That is the meaning of the new world situation. And when, in the face of the fundamental change, the Wheelers and Thomases continue to tell the American people to remain indifferent to the outcome of the fight against fascism; when they now try to mislead the masses as to the real issue of this fight—fascist enslavement for all nations or national independence and democratic liberties—by giving them the Hitler story that it is a fight "between communism and fascism"; when the Wheelers and Thomases do all of these things *now*, they are plainly working for a Hitler victory, *more* plainly and *more* directly than they did before. They are thus endangering the most vital interests of the United States and of the American people.

It was bad enough for the interests of the American people and its working class, prior to June 22, to

have certain groups and elements of our working population tangled up, one way or another, with the fake "peace" advocates among the leaders of the "American First Committee" and with the Wheelers and Thomases. We repeat: this was bad enough before the great change in the world situation. *Now* it would be positively deadly for any working man or working woman, for any true American and opponent of fascism, to have anything to do with these allies of the Lindberghs, Hoovers and Hearsts. These must be exposed and fought relentlessly in order to defeat and destroy the fascist enemy of mankind.

Thus organized labor, in unity with the rest of the people, will be able to remove the most serious obstacle inside the mass movements to a united people's struggle for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.

But the foregoing is not the only obstacle, although the most serious one. Difficulties for the united people's struggle against fascism are also being created by those who, though professing support for this struggle, insist upon certain "conditions." We have in mind people like Louis Waldman, who recently gave expression to the following:

"I am for giving whatever aid we can to Soviet Russia, providing, of course, it does not interfere with immediate, necessary aid to Great Britain. But such aid should be extended on the condition that the Soviet Government give pledges, with effective guarantees, that it is ready to democratize its regime." (*New York Times*, June 27.)

If the present world situation were such as to justify and demand that the main issue in the labor movement be made Communism versus Social-Democratism, we would naturally have a good deal to say about the ideology, policies, past record and the general role of Social-Democratism and its exponents. And even now, *in the field of ideological discussion*, we shall willingly and readily and fraternally discuss with the Social-Democratic workers, and with all workers, every ideological problem of interest to our class and people. But in the judgment of the Communist Party, as expressed in the decisions of the recent meeting of its National Committee (the Manifesto, the report of Comrade Foster, the utterances of Comrades Minor, Hudson, Ford, Green), the present situation demands the following: *everything must be subordinated to the united people's struggle for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism*, and everything must be judged and determined by the needs of achieving victory in this struggle. This is our unshakable judgment and with this we come to our class and to our people. And from Comrade Browder we have learned how to fight effectively for our Party's line among the masses.

Now, it is *in this spirit* that we must seek to overcome the obstacle to the anti-fascist fight of the people, placed by the "conditional" supporters of the struggle against Hitler. And what have we to say? First, that since we ourselves put no conditions, why should Social-Democrats do so? We all want to work

to defeat Hitler. This is our common objective. There is no greater one at the present time. Let us go ahead and fight for it. Secondly, we seek no narrow partisan advantages in this common struggle; and if we gain influence, it is because we have thrown ourselves unconditionally into the people's fight to defeat Hitler. If you are jealous of our growing influence, do as we do—join in the fight to defeat Hitler without "conditions." Thirdly, the conditional "support" of aid to the Soviet Union, as advocated by Waldman, means no support. That should be clear. On this there must be no misunderstanding, regardless of what the desire of the "conditional supporters" might be. It is a position of no support. We are confident that the Social-Democratic workers will reject such a position, but the leaders must understand that, if they persist in this position of no support, they will be assuming an awful responsibility before the American people. To continue to attack and slander the Soviet Union; to present proposals for the restoration of the tsar, the landlords and their allies in the guise of "democracy"; to do these things is to do the bidding of Hitler.

Finally, still another kind of obstacle. It comes from those tendencies in the labor movement which, in the past, have readily and willingly agreed to sacrifice vital interests of the masses, not for the well being and security of the people and nation, but to satisfy the selfish and narrow demands of monopoly war profiteering. It is clear that such tendencies are hurting the de-

velopment of a united people's struggle for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism. They do so in several ways: by undermining the material well being of the working people, they actually weaken the physical capabilities of the masses to carry successfully the great burdens required by the struggle; by undermining the rights, positions and liberties of the working people and their progressive organizations, the foregoing tendencies in the labor movement actually weaken the ability of the working class and its allies to combat successfully the conspiracies of the appeasers of fascism and their conciliators. They thus weaken and endanger the people's struggle for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism. That's why these tendencies are an obstacle to the struggle.

How shall we seek to combat and remove this obstacle? We find the answer also to this question in the program advanced by the National Committee of the Communist Party. It says:

"The liberty loving masses of the American people have always been ready and are ready now more than ever to make all necessary sacrifices to defeat fascism. They will insist that the interests of the people shall not be sacrificed to the narrow and selfish interests of the war profiteers, the reactionary monopolists and Wall Street imperialists. These selfish interests who refuse to grant labor a living wage are the ones responsible for the strike struggles that have taken place in the country."

From this standpoint, the unani-

mous decisions of the recent legislative conference of the C.I.O. (July 6-7), and the steps taken to defeat the anti-labor measures now before Congress, are a source of gratification and strength to the entire labor movement, to the workers in the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods as well as those in the C.I.O. These decisions and actions, including the sharp condemnation of the use of troops for strikebreaking purposes and the outspoken criticism of those tendencies in the labor movement that capitulate before the reactionary schemes of compulsory arbitration and mediation—a condemnation and criticism in which John L. Lewis has made a great and leading contribution—will materially strengthen the people's fight to help the defeat of Hitler. These decisions and actions will strengthen the unity and influence of the C.I.O. and will enable President Murray to lead this great organization of labor toward making still more significant contributions to the struggle for the national and social security of the American people.

In this new world situation, in which it has become vitally necessary and practically possible to wage a people's fight for the military defeat of Hitlerism and fascism, the immediate and practical questions of national defense have to be approached in a new way. The guiding idea is the united struggle of the American people, in collaboration with the peoples of the Soviet Union, of Great Britain, and of all peoples, to bring about the defeat and destruction of the

common enemy. This is a democratic fight of the people against the enemies of the nation abroad and at home.

"The true defense of the American people against its enemies at home and abroad demands a conscientious policy of steady improvement of the economic standards, the health and the general well-being of the masses. It demands that the democratic liberties of the people be guarded, preserved and extended. These are basic requisites for a successful struggle to defeat German fascism." ("The People's Program of Struggle for the Defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.")

It follows, therefore, that those tendencies in the labor movement which continue to capitulate to the attacks of the reactionaries are injuring the cause of national unity and national defense. These tendencies must be resisted by a united labor movement, and it must be done *on the basis of the people's program of struggle for the military defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism*, a program which can and will unite the actions of the workers in the C.I.O., in the A. F. of L. and in the Railroad Brotherhoods.

On the basis of this program, and in order to realize it more speedily and effectively, labor has a great contribution to make to the organization of defense production in all its phases. Carrying forward the guiding idea formulated by John L. Lewis that labor must strive to establish its influence in the formulation and execution of national policy, an idea adopted by the C.I.O. at its very inception and supported by

progressive labor as a whole, it *has now become possible* to use advantageously the Murray plan for the establishment of defense industry councils. This plan was approved by the recent legislative conference of the C.I.O., and everything should be done to promote its realization. And we should add that the attempts of certain trade union representatives in the Office of Production Management (O.P.M.) to circumvent this plan and to vitiate it are injuring the cause of national defense.

Fighting along the foregoing lines, and steadily overcoming all obstacles, labor will be able to play a leading part in the people's struggle to defeat Hitler and Hitlerism. And it is precisely in the interests of this struggle that government attacks on the Communist Party be stopped, and that Earl Browder, a leader of the people's fight against fascism, and all working class political prisoners be released.

Forward to the people's struggle for the military defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism!

Forward to a world-wide front of people's struggle against Hitler fascism in defense of the Soviet Union!

THE STRUGGLES AGAINST HITLER WILL MERGE

IN HIS broadcast on July 3 Comrade Stalin said the following:

"Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and

America for their independence, for democratic liberties.

"It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threat of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies."

Here is the great task facing the American people, the British people, the peoples of Europe already over-run by fascism, and all peoples. It is the task of *merging* their struggles for national independence and democratic liberties with the national war of freedom waged by the Soviet Union. No task is more important and nothing can be allowed to stand in the way of its realization.

Why is this so? What has happened to make it so? The changed world situation, the changed nature of the struggle in the war against Hitler Germany, the changed tasks of the peoples.

Yes, we must fight to merge these struggles into "a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies." Can it be done? Does it have to be done? It can be done because all the conditions exist that make such a merger necessary and possible; and it *has* to be done because this merger has not yet taken place. The Quislings and their conciliators stand in the way. The American people must therefore invalidate the influence and pressure upon the government policy of these pro-fascist forces. The American people must support and fight for aid to the Soviet Union, for collaboration of the United States,

Great Britain and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of fascism.

To think that it is impossible to merge the national war of the Soviet Union with the national struggle of all other peoples that are enslaved and threatened with enslavement by German fascism is to misunderstand completely the new world situation. It is, in effect, to play into the hands of Hitler and his Quislings.

What is the Soviet Union fighting for?

"The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

"In this war of liberation we shall not be alone.

"In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by Hitlerite despots." (From Stalin's broadcast.)

And what are the British people and the American people fighting for? The British people are facing the task of defending their national existence and freedom. Against whom? German fascism. The American people are now facing the task of defending their national security and democratic liberties. Against whom? German fascism.

One enemy—German fascism. One objective—the military defeat of German fascism. This is the basis for *merging* the struggles of the

American, British and Soviet peoples, and all peoples, to defeat and destroy the common enemy. The merger can and must be accomplished.

That is why we must combat all those tendencies which see the invasion of the U.S.S.R. by Hitler as separate and apart from the war being waged by other peoples against Hitlerism, separate from the struggle of Great Britain and the United States. We must combat those tendencies to be found among some honest friends of the Soviet Union who would extend aid to the Soviet Union but oppose aid to Britain. Of course, they want to crush Hitlerism; they want to help the Soviet Union. But by this narrow, wrong and dangerous approach they are helping, not the Soviet Union, but Hitler. They would, in fact, while approaching the issue from a different direction, adopt a policy which would have the same result that the reactionary pro-Hitler circles wish to achieve, to keep the British, American and Soviet people from merging their struggles in all-out effort to bring about as speedily as possible the military defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.

On the other hand, to think that this merger has already been accomplished is to ignore or overlook the great menace to such a merger that comes from the pro-fascist forces here and in Great Britain. It means also to ignore the existing tendencies in the governments of these countries to conciliate these pro-fascist forces. To overlook or ignore these dangers is to fail to

fight against them effectively. And this, too, plays into the hands of Hitler and his Quislings.

Examine the situation in Great Britain. Can it be assumed that the pro-fascist forces there will stop conspiring in favor of Hitler? No; and the masses of the British people, fortunately for England and for the common struggle against fascism, seem to be making no such assumption. The historic agreement for joint action between England and the Soviet Union is developing a powerful coalition for the military defeat of Hitlerite Germany. It is an event of tremendous importance. It is the road to a full merger of the war efforts of both countries in the struggle against the common enemy. More than that: remembering that the United States is already collaborating in various ways with Great Britain, this historic agreement between England and the Soviet Union will tend to lead to close collaboration of all three countries—England, the United States, the Soviet Union. It will accelerate powerfully the movement to complete merger of the efforts and struggles of the peoples of these countries for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.

And just because this is so, the British people are not forgetting the pro-fascist elements in their country. The British people are not overlooking the efforts of these forces to weaken and vitiate the effect of the mutual aid agreement, to slacken Great Britain's war effort. The British people, therefore, redouble their fight against the treacherous conspiracies of the pro-

fascist forces, for a greatly intensified war effort, *for a full merger of the common struggle against Hitlerite Germany.*

What about the United States? Government policy continues to develop along the lines of military collaboration with Great Britain against Germany. American aid to the Soviet Union is beginning to take practical shape. The masses of our people are supporting and urging greater and still greater aid to the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler's armies. We are moving, therefore, in the direction of combining the struggle of the United States with the struggle of Britain and the Soviet Union against Hitler.

Yet in order to achieve the desired merger—the sure guarantee of complete victory—the American people have to be rallied and united in a national front to defend America, to give full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all nations who fight against Hitler. The American people have to fight for full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to achieve the military defeat of Hitlerite Germany. They have to fight to merge their own struggles against Hitler with those of England and the Soviet Union against the same enemy. And against whom must they fight? Against the pro-fascist forces in our country, against the reactionary and pro-Hitler circles of the bourgeoisie (the Lindberghs, Hoovers, Wheelers, Hearsts) and against those tendencies in the government which seek to placate these pro-fascist forces.

The very first statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party on the new world situation (*Daily Worker*, June 23) formulated the new tasks facing the American people and its working class, projecting at once the most fundamental slogans for the struggle. This statement, over the signatures of William Z. Foster and Robert Minor, respectively the National Chairman and Acting Secretary of our Party, also laid the basis for the full development of the people's program of action called for by the new situation. This program—"The People's Program of Struggle for the Defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism"—was formulated and adopted unanimously, as is already known, by the National Committee of the Communist Party in its last meeting (June 28-29) and published on June 30. The Party is rapidly mobilizing itself to work with the labor movement and the masses of the people generally to realize this program—the program of national unity for the defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.

In the struggle for the realization of the national unity of the American people to defeat Hitler, the Party calls upon the masses to support every measure of the government to aid the Soviet and British peoples, to aid the Chinese people, to develop and strengthen all defense efforts of the United States for the military defeat of German fascism. And in order to help make this struggle a genuine democratic and people's crusade against Hitler and Hitlerism, the Communist Party will exercise to the best of

its abilities the duties of the vanguard Party of its class and people, retaining fully its political independence. The interests of the whole nation demand that Comrade Browder be set free, immediately and unconditionally. He is needed for the great fight against Hitlerism. He is needed to help cement the national unity of the American people for the defense of its national and social security against the menace of the fascist barbarians and their potential Quislings.

Comrade Foster voiced the sentiments, not only of the Party but also of the wide masses of its friends and followers, when he said: "All of us miss him enormously at this historic Plenum." We miss his leadership and guidance. We, and the whole of the American people, miss his great abilities to rally wide circles of the people for the realization of the historic task now facing them. He should be set free at once. This would be a most dramatic expression of the unyielding opposition of the American people to the fascist monster. It would help

enormously in the crystallization of national unity for defense of the country against German fascism. It would demonstrate to the whole world that it is only Hitler and his Quislings that keep Communists in jail—Thaelmann and many, many others.

In the spirit of Browder, the historic June meeting of our National Committee has given us the task and the line, guided in its work by our National Chairman, Comrade Foster, by the collective efforts of the Party's leadership. And the Party is already at work.

With a united American people, we shall march and fight against the common enemy—Hitler and Hitlerism. Everything for the defeat and destruction of this monstrous enemy. Everything for aid to the Soviet and British peoples. Everything for the closest collaboration of the United States, England and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of German fascism. Everything for the democratic people's crusade to defend the national and social security of the United States.

VICTORY WILL BE OURS!

BY JOSEPH STALIN

COMRADES! Citizens! Brothers and Sisters! Men of Our Army and Navy!

I am addressing you, my friends!

The perfidious military attack on our Fatherland, begun on June 22 by Hitler Germany, is continuing.

In spite of the heroic resistance of the Red Army, and although the enemy's finest divisions and finest air-force units have already been smashed and have met their doom on the field of battle, the enemy continues to push forward, hurling fresh forces into the attack.

Hitler's troops have succeeded in capturing Lithuania, a considerable part of Latvia, the western part of Byelorussia, part of Western Ukraine. The fascist air force is extending the range of operations of its bombers, and is bombing Murmansk, Orsha, Mogilev, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa and Sebastopol.

A grave danger hangs over our country.

How could it have happened that our glorious Red Army surrendered a number of our cities and districts to fascist armies? Is it really true that German fascist troops are invincible, as is ceaselessly trumpeted by the boastful fascist propagandists?

Of course not!

History shows that there are no invincible armies and never have been. Napoleon's army was considered invincible but it was beaten successively by Russian, English and German armies. Kaiser Wilhelm's German army in the period of the first imperialist war was also considered invincible but it was beaten several times by the Russian and Anglo-French forces and was finally smashed by the Anglo-French forces.

The same must be said of Hitler's German fascist army today. This army had not yet met with serious resistance on the continent of Europe. Only on our territory has it met serious resistance. And if, as a result of this resistance, the finest divisions of Hitler's German fascist army have been defeated by our Red Army, it means that this army too can be smashed and will be smashed as were the armies of Napoleon and Wilhelm.

As to part of our territory having nevertheless been seized by German fascist troops, this is chiefly due to the fact that the war of fascist Germany on the U.S.S.R. began under conditions favorable for the German forces and unfavorable for So-

viet forces. The fact of the matter is that the troops of Germany, as a country at war, were already fully mobilized, and the 170 divisions hurled by Germany against the U.S.S.R. and brought up to the Soviet frontiers were in a state of complete readiness, only awaiting the signal to move into action, whereas Soviet troops had still to effect mobilization and move up to the frontier.

Of no little importance in this respect is the fact that fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the Non-Aggression Pact she concluded in 1939 with the U.S. S.R., disregarding the fact that she would be regarded as the aggressor by the whole world.

Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative of breaking the pact, could not resort to perfidy.

It may be asked how could the Soviet Government have consented to conclude a Non-Aggression Pact with such treacherous fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Was this not an error of the Soviet Government? Of course not. Non-aggression pacts are pacts of peace between states. It was such a pact that Germany proposed to us in 1939.

Could the Soviet Government have declined such a proposal? I think that not a single peace-loving state could decline a peace treaty with a neighboring state, even though the latter was headed by such fiends and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop. Of course only on one indispensable condition, namely, that this peace treaty does not infringe either directly or indirect-

ly on the territorial integrity, independence and honor of the peace-loving state. As is well known, the Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the U.S.S.R. is precisely such a pact.

What did we gain by concluding the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany? We secured our country peace for a year and a half, and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse fascist Germany should she risk an attack on our country despite the pact. This was a definite advantage for us and a disadvantage for fascist Germany.

What has fascist Germany gained and what has she lost by treacherously tearing up the pact and attacking the U.S.S.R.?

She has gained a certain advantageous position for her troops for a short period, but she has lost politically by exposing herself in the eyes of the entire world as a blood-thirsty aggressor.

There can be no doubt that this short-lived military gain for Germany is only an episode, while the tremendous political gain of the U.S.S.R. is a serious and lasting factor that is bound to form the basis for development of decisive military successes of the Red Army in the war with fascist Germany.

That is why our whole valiant Red Army, our whole valiant Navy, all our falcons of the air, all the peoples of our country, all the finest men and women of Europe, America and Asia, finally, all the finest men and women of Germany, condemn the treacherous acts of the German fascists and sympathize with the Soviet Government, ap-

prove the conduct of the Soviet Government, and see that ours is a just cause, that the enemy will be defeated, that we are bound to win.

By virtue of this war which has been forced upon us, our country has come to death-grips with its most malicious and most perfidious enemy—German fascism.

Our troops are fighting heroically against an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and aircraft.

Overcoming innumerable difficulties, the Red Army and Red Navy are self-sacrificingly disputing every inch of Soviet soil. The main forces of the Red Army are coming into action armed with thousands of tanks and airplanes. The men of the Red Army are displaying unexampled valor. Our resistance to the enemy is growing in strength and power.

Side by side with the Red Army, the entire Soviet people are rising in defense of our native land.

What is required to put an end to the danger hovering over our country, and what measures must be taken to smash the enemy?

Above all, it is essential that our people, the Soviet people, should understand the full immensity of the danger that threatens our country and should abandon all complacency, all heedlessness, all those moods of peaceful constructive work which were so natural before the war, but which are fatal today when war has fundamentally changed everything.

The enemy is cruel and implacable. He is out to seize our lands, watered with our sweat, to seize our grain and oil secured by our la-

bor. He is out to restore the rule of landlords, to restore tsarism, to destroy national culture and the national state existence of the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidjanians and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to convert them into the slaves of German princes and barons.

Thus the issue is one of life and death for the Soviet State, for the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; the issue is whether the peoples of the Soviet Union shall remain free or fall into slavery.

The Soviet people must realize this and abandon all heedlessness, they must mobilize themselves and reorganize all their work on new, wartime bases, when there can be no mercy to the enemy.

Further, there must be no room in our ranks for whimperers and cowards, for panic-mongers and deserters. Our people must know no fear in fight and must selflessly join our patriotic war of liberation, our war against the fascist enslavers.

Lenin, the great founder of our state, used to say that the chief virtue of the Bolshevik must be courage, valor, fearlessness in struggle, readiness to fight, together with the people, against the enemies of our country.

This splendid virtue of the Bolshevik must become the virtue of the millions of the Red Army, of the Red Navy, of all peoples of the Soviet Union.

All our work must be immediate-

ly reconstructed on a war footing, everything must be subordinated to the interests of the front and the task of organizing the demolition of the enemy.

The peoples of the Soviet Union now see that there is no taming of German fascism in its savage fury and hatred of our country, which has ensured all working people labor in freedom and prosperity.

The peoples of the Soviet Union must rise against the enemy and defend their rights and their land. The Red Army, Red Navy and all citizens of the Soviet Union must defend every inch of Soviet soil, must fight to the last drop of blood for our towns and villages, must display the daring initiative and intelligence that are inherent in our people.

We must organize all-around assistance for the Red Army, ensure powerful reinforcements for its ranks and the supply of everything it requires, we must organize the rapid transport of troops and military freight and extensive aid to the wounded.

We must strengthen the Red Army's rear, subordinating all our work to this cause. All our industries must be got to work with greater intensity to produce more rifles, machine-guns, artillery, bullets, shells, airplanes, we must organize the guarding of factories, power-stations, telephonic and telegraphic communications, and arrange effective air raid precautions in all localities.

We must wage a ruthless fight against all disorganizers of the rear, deserters, panic-mongers, rumor-

mongers, we must exterminate spies, diversionists and enemy parachutists, rendering rapid aid in all this to our destroyer battalions.

We must bear in mind that the enemy is crafty, unscrupulous, experienced in deception and dissemination of false rumors. We must reckon with all this and not fall victim to provocation.

All who by their panic-mongering and cowardice hinder the work of defense, no matter who they are, must be immediately haled before the military tribunal. In case of forced retreat of Red Army units, all rolling stock must be evacuated, the enemy must not be left a single engine, a single railway car, not a single pound of grain or a gallon of fuel.

The collective farmers must drive off all their cattle, and turn over their grain to the safe-keeping of state authorities for transportation to the rear. All valuable property, including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel which cannot be withdrawn, must without fail be destroyed.

In areas occupied by the enemy, guerrilla units, mounted and on foot, must be formed, diversionist groups must be organized to combat the enemy troops, to foment guerrilla warfare everywhere, to blow up bridges and roads, damage telephone and telegraph lines, set fire to forests, stores, transports.

In the occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step, and all their measures frustrated.

This war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German fascist forces.

The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots.

Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties.

It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies.

In this connection the historic utterance of the British Prime Minister Churchill regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the United States Government signifying its readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic.

Comrades, our forces are number-

less. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost. Side by side with the Red Army many thousands of workers, collective farmers, intellectuals are rising to fight the enemy aggressor. The masses of our people will rise up in their millions.

The working people of Moscow and Leningrad have already commenced to form vast popular levies in support of the Red Army. Such popular levies must be raised in every city which is in danger of enemy invasion, all working people must be roused to defend our freedom, our honor, our country—in our patriotic war against German fascism.

In order to ensure the rapid mobilization of all forces of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and to repulse the enemy who treacherously attacked our country, a State Committee of Defense has been formed in whose hands the entire power of the state has been vested.

The State Committee of Defense has entered upon its functions and calls upon all our people to rally around the Party of Lenin-Stalin and around the Soviet Government, so as to self-denyingly support the Red Army and Navy, demolish the enemy and secure victory.

All our forces for support of our heroic Red Army and our glorious Red Navy! All forces of the people—for the demolition of the enemy!

Forward, to our victory!

THE PEOPLE'S PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR THE DEFEAT OF HITLER AND HITLERISM!

*(Manifesto of the National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.,
adopted at its Plenary Meeting, June 28-29, 1941.)*

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:
The people of our country are facing a new world situation.

Hitler fascism has brazenly attacked the Soviet Union, in flagrant violation of a treaty of non-aggression, and despite the peace and neutrality policy of the U.S.S.R. This has immeasurably increased the menace of Hitler and fascism to the national existence of all peoples, to the social and national security of the people of the United States. The involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has changed the character of the war. The glorious and mighty defense by the Red Army and the united peoples of the Soviet Union, their valiant struggle to drive out and crush the aggressor, create the opportunity for the people of the United States and for all peoples to unite and assure the complete and final annihilation of Hitler and Hitlerism.

The American people hate and abhor fascism. They have seen for themselves that fascism means unrestrained oppression of the masses at home and aggressive war for conquest abroad.

Prior to the outbreak of the war considerable numbers of the American people sought to stop the fascist aggressors by supporting the policy of collective security—the policy advanced by the Soviet Union. But

the statesmen of the capitalist countries threatened by fascist aggression refused to accept this policy. This they did because they feared that resistance to aggression would strengthen the democratic forces of their own peoples and the position of the Soviet Union. Instead, they adopted the shameful Munich policy of appeasement, betrayal and surrender.

They hoped in this way to divert the attack of the fascist aggressors from themselves to the Soviet Union—the land of socialism, the truest champion of peace and equality among nations. Instead of peace the capitalist statesmen brought on war among the imperialist powers themselves for the redivision of the world. The people of the United States rightly had no confidence or trust in this kind of a war. They remained overwhelmingly in favor of keeping out of it.

The Soviet Union tried in vain to prevent this second imperialist war. Rebuffed in this attempt by the conspiracy of the Chamberlains to divert fascist aggression toward the land of socialism, the Soviet Union accepted the proposal of the German government for a treaty of non-aggression. It adopted a policy of consistent neutrality toward both sides in this war and exerted all its efforts to prevent the spread of the war. It strove to bring the war to

an early end and to establish peace. This policy of peace and neutrality was in the interest not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union, who desired peacefully to build their socialist society, but also corresponded to the best interests of the peoples of all lands.

All of this proved conclusively that the war was not really a war against fascism but a struggle between rivals for imperialist aims. The stand of the Soviet Union only strengthened the conviction of the majority of the American people that this was not their war and that the United States, like the Soviet Union, should keep out of it. That is why the advanced sections of the labor movement and of the people regarded as their main task the organization of the people's opposition to the imperialist war and an imperialist "peace" of violence, calling for a genuine people's peace without annexations or indemnities, with full security to the national independence and freedom for all peoples. They realized that this was the only genuine way to fight against reaction and fascism.

Why did Hitler attack the Soviet Union at this time? He attacked because the very existence of the mighty and free socialist state constituted a threat to Hitler's plan to enslave the peoples of the world. He attacked in the hope of arousing in his support in the United States and England the reactionary elements, to evoke again the old Munich betrayal of the peoples of England and America and of the countries he has enslaved in Europe. He was driven by a fear of the rising people's movements in the occupied countries as well as in Germany. He attacked the Soviet

Union as the outpost of world progress and with the hope of acquiring the boundless resources of the great Soviet Union to strengthen his hand against Great Britain and the United States and to further his plans for the conquest of the world.

Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union imparts a new and sinister aspect to the menace of Hitlerism for the American people, the British people and the peoples of the world. It shows conclusively that German fascism is determined to continue at all costs its fight for world conquest, to impose upon the world a regime of complete destruction of the independence of nations and of all elementary rights of the masses. There can be no peace for the peoples of the world without the complete destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism. Hitler fascism stands exposed as the greatest and main enemy of the peoples of the world.

This is the new world situation. Hitler's smokescreen of a holy war against communism will not and must not deceive or divide the American people. The issue is not communism. German fascism has set out to enslave all nations and all peoples—to conquer the world. That, and only that, is the issue.

The Soviet Union is fighting the brutal assault of the fascist aggressor in defense of its lands, its peoples, their freedom and independence. It fights to drive out and crush the Nazi aggressor—the hateful, barbaric, imperialistic, fascist dictatorship of Hitler. In this struggle, the American people are by no means neutral or unconcerned. They cannot but strive for the defeat of Hitlerism. They cannot but adopt a policy that favors and gives to the Soviet Union all support to

ensure the decisive military defeat of Hitler and fascism. Through their organized efforts the American people must make the policy of the American government a genuine policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union, a policy that gives *all aid to the Soviet and British peoples*. The American people must throw in the full weight of their might and power to defeat German fascism.

The defeat of Hitlerism, which means the defense of the liberty and independence of all nations, calls for the worldwide unity of all peoples in the struggle against Hitler fascism and in defense of the Soviet Union. The building of such a front requires the collaboration of the peoples of England, the United States and the Soviet Union, together with all peoples. This is the desire of the British people. This will become the expressed desire of the German people, the Italian people, and of those now under the heel of the fascist conqueror. This is the desire of the peoples of Latin America, who are struggling for democratic liberties and national independence. This is the desire of the Chinese people, so bravely struggling against the Japanese aggressor. But such collaboration requires the speedy adoption by the United States of all measures to secure victory over the common enemy of mankind and civilization. The struggle of the Soviet Union to drive out and defeat the invader will be crowned with success, even though the struggle is hard and requires many sacrifices. In this struggle Hitler will meet his doom. The people of America are beginning to realize that to defend the Soviet Union means to defend the U. S.

The declaration of President Roosevelt pledging all possible aid to the struggle of the Soviet Union expresses the will of the vast majority of the American people, who expect this pledge to be translated into deeds. But the realization of these deeds by the American government is seriously endangered. It is endangered by the great influence and pressure of the most reactionary circles of the American bourgeoisie, which seek to come to terms with Hitler at the expense of the most vital national interests of the American people. Within the Roosevelt administration itself there are those who would conciliate and compromise with the friends of Hitler and fascism.

This is a cause of the greatest concern to our nation. What is needed is speedy and effective aid to the Soviet and British peoples. To bring this about the American people have to wage a determined struggle against all the treacherous influences of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. They, the American people, will support every action of the government to prosecute the struggle to defeat German fascism and to aid the Soviet Union, and they will not fail—they must not fail—to speak out plainly against every tendency of the American government to conciliate the enemies of the nation, to appease the appeasers.

The Hoovers, Lindberghs, the Wheelers and Norman Thomases, the Coughlins and Hearsts, these are the spokesmen of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie. These constitute the core of the fifth column. They pursue the policies of the Chamberlains and the Cliveden Set in Great Britain, the

policies of the betrayers and capitulators of France. They therefore represent the greatest menace to the American people. This menace must be exposed and fought against relentlessly, because only thus can the people secure effective aid by the American Government to the Soviet and British peoples for the successful struggle to defeat Hitlerism.

Organized labor and the whole working class are the sworn enemies of reaction, fascism and Hitlerism. In this new and critical world situation the working class therefore faces the duty to assume leadership in the people's fight against the fascist menace—in the fight to bring speedy and effective aid to the Soviet Union. It is the duty of the working class to lead the fight to establish American-Soviet-British collaboration for the defeat of Hitlerism and to make this the official and active policy of the government.

This is labor's great responsibility.

Having outgrown its swaddling clothes and representing a strength of more than ten million organized workers, labor, the backbone of the nation and its future, should further strengthen its positions in the industries, in the life of the country, in influencing the formulation and execution of national policy.

The liberty loving masses of the American people have always been ready and are ready now more than ever to make all necessary sacrifices to defeat fascism. They will insist that the interests of the people shall not be sacrificed to the narrow and selfish interests of the war profiteers, the reactionary monopolists and Wall Street imperialists. These

selfish interests who refuse to grant labor a living wage are the ones responsible for the strike struggles that have taken place in the country.

The true defense of the American people against its enemies at home and abroad demands a conscientious policy of steady improvement of the economic standards, the health and the general well being of the masses. It demands that the democratic liberties of the people be guarded, preserved and extended. These are basic requisites for a successful struggle to defeat German fascism.

All of this is made fully possible by the great wealth of the nation, its great productive capacity and by the skill of the people. This demands that the millions who are still unemployed be put to work, that there be equal opportunity of employment in all industries for the Negro people and for the foreign-born, that the farmers be guaranteed cost of production and economic security. It requires a complete reversal of the present policy of systematic curtailment of the people's rights and liberties, and the adoption of a policy of steadfastly preserving and extending the democratic rights of the people. An end must be put to such instruments of fascism as the Dies Committee, the school witch-hunts, the Voorhis Act, the proposed Vinson anti-strike bill, the use of troops for strikebreaking purposes, and all other restrictions of the right of collective bargaining and of the right to strike. A stop must be put to the persecution of the Communist Party. Earl Browder, leader in the people's fight for the defeat of Hitlerism, and all working class po-

litical prisoners must be released immediately. There must be an end to Jim-Crowism, lynching, and all forms of discrimination against the Negro people. A stop must be put to the cultivation of anti-Semitism and the persecution of the foreign-born through registration of non-citizens, the sedition laws and the threat of concentration camps.

The chief guarantee for the successful realization of this program is the struggle for the united front of the working class and the unity of the American people in a genuine people's front. Such a united and people's front would be broad enough to embrace in fraternal collaboration all honest opponents of Hitlerism, both here and abroad, all those who are willing to join in this common struggle. Such a united front will have to combat those reformist and Social-Democratic leaders who are now obstructing the people's struggle against Hitlerism by their persistent slanders and attack against the Soviet Union.

We, on our part, speaking in the name of the Communist Party of the United States, pledge our all, to work and struggle as a part of the American people for the realization of this program. Inspired by the best interests of the American people, by working class internationalism, and guided by our fundamental Communist principles we shall march in the front ranks of the working class and the people for the defeat and destruction of German fascism.

Defend America by giving full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all nations who fight against Hitler!

For full and unlimited collabora-

tion of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of fascism!

For a government policy of democratic struggle against fascism!

Down with the appeasers of Hitlerism—the conspirators of a new Munich betrayal!

All aid to the Chinese people fighting for their national independence! No aid to the Japanese invaders!

For cooperation of all the peoples of the Americas against Hitlerism! Support the struggles of the Latin American peoples for democratic freedom and national independence!

Preserve and extend the economic standards and democratic liberties of the American people—the workers, farmers and middle classes! Stop monopoly war profiteering!

End all discrimination against the Negro people—in industry, in the armed forces and in civil life! Pass the anti-lynching bill! Restore the right to vote to the people of the South!

End anti-Semitism! Stop the persecution of the foreign-born!

Stop all government attacks on the Communist Party! Release Earl Browder and all working class political prisoners!

Build the Communist Party, the Party that stands in the forefront of the people's fight against Hitlerism and for socialism! Support and build the progressive labor press!

Forward to a world-wide people's front against Hitler fascism for the defense of the Soviet Union!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

William Z. Foster, Nat'l Chairman
Robert Minor, Acting Secretary

FREE EARL BROWDER TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITED PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST HITLERISM!

*(Resolution of the National Committee, Communist Party, U.S.A.,
adopted at its Plenary Meeting, June 28-29, 1941.)*

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:
The new, monstrous aggression of the German Nazi Government against the Soviet Union shows beyond any doubt that it is out to conquer and enslave the world. Hitler hopes to seize the great resources of the land of Soviets in order to equip himself for the conquest of all peoples and all continents.

Hitler can be stopped.

The forces of the people all over the world, strengthened by the might of the great Soviet Union, are stronger than anything the Hitler machine can marshal against them.

United, the people of the world will be invincible.

United, the American people in collaboration with the great peoples of England and the Soviet Union will assure the complete and final defeat of this savage monster who is menacing the world.

But if Hitler is to be crushed, if the American people are to be united, a stop must be put to all repressive measures in our country copied from the Hitler model. All

violations of civil liberties must be halted. The drive against the rights of trade unions and the persecution of minority parties and groups must cease. Those who seek to split the labor unions and divide the people under cover of Hitler's slogan "War on Communism" must be rejected and condemned as enemies of the people, as friends of Hitler. The practice of political reprisals through hypocritical and false "criminal" prosecution must be banished from America. Earl Browder, the victim of such reprisals, must be freed.

German Nazism cannot be defeated if democracy is destroyed at home, if the people are deprived of their constitutional rights.

Why is Earl Browder in prison at the present time? Because, in opposing war for world empire, he consistently advocated the inauguration of a foreign policy for our country which even the government itself, by its own statements, now recognizes as vital for the security of the United States—the policy of American collaboration with the anti-Munich forces of the world,

and especially with the strongest anti-imperialist power, the Soviet Union.

Every day that Earl Browder remains in jail because he refused to support a war that was not against Hitlerism only helps Hitler and weakens the fight against Hitlerism.

The whole country knows that Earl Browder was imprisoned for his political views. As leader of the Communist Party he is a relentless and courageous advocate of policies for our country that would safeguard the national and social security of our people. The American people respect Earl Browder. The workers of America understand that Earl Browder is a brave champion of their interests and opponent of fascism at home and abroad. The interests of national and social security of America in this time of crisis require that Earl Browder be released at once.

The freeing of Earl Browder will help unite all American labor and will strengthen a vast united struggle to stop Hitler and crush Hitlerism.

Our country is in danger and the future of all mankind is at stake.

Everything that weakens or hampers the creative efforts of the masses in this titanic struggle must be removed. The anger and the hatred of the American people for Hitlerism must be turned into a mighty force that will help destroy the Nazi enemy of mankind. Time does not allow us to wait. Earl Browder must be freed so that his great talents may be used to help organize the forces of the people in a mighty crusade to annihilate German fascism.

Strengthen the fight for the military defeat of German fascism!

Strengthen the unity of the people for the defeat of Hitler!

Protect and defend democratic rights! For the full rights of the Communist Party!

Organize committees for the freedom of Browder!

Demand the immediate release of Earl Browder!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER,
National Chairman

ROBERT MINOR,
Acting Secretary

LABOR'S GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES AND POSSIBILITIES

BY ROY HUDSON

*(Based on a report to the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee,
Communist Party, U.S.A., June 28-29, 1941.)*

I

THE new situation confronting mankind as a result of the aggression of German fascism on the Soviet Union makes it necessary for us to re-examine our work in *every* field in the light of the new conditions, the new tasks. This is important for *all* phases of our work. It is especially important in trade union activities. For it can be said that whether or not the American people will be rallied quickly and effectively to assure the necessary aid to Britain and the Soviet Union will be determined to a large extent by how the trade union movement reacts to this national emergency.

After the outbreak of the war in 1939 the working class, even though unable to fulfill completely its role of leader of the anti-imperialist camp, was, however, able to continue its progress in the face of the new conditions and the tasks it found itself confronted with which arose more than a year and a half ago. During that period we have witnessed great struggles of the workers, struggles which forced the bourgeoisie to retreat

from its policy of wage-cuts and to accede to the justified demands for wage increases to meet the increased cost of living. Despite the vacillations and hesitations of some leaders, and the hostility of others, the masses were able to carry forward great struggles in Bethlehem, in Ford, in Harvester, in Inglewood. The working class, only in the past month, beat back the offensive of the employers aimed at smashing the progressive labor movement, at imposing compulsory arbitration, at breaking the resistance of the masses. What is more, the organized workers were able in this period of sharpest attack upon the labor movement, to carry through a successful organizational campaign that has brought new millions of workers into the trade unions, smashing the great open shop citadel of Ford.

The growth and strengthening of the labor movement have their reflection in the strengthened fight of the Negro people, who, only in the past few days, have succeeded in forcing concessions that constitute an important victory not only for the Negro people but for the entire labor movement.

There is today greater clarity, greater understanding in the ranks of labor, of its role as leader of the progressive people, as the basic anti-fascist force in the country. The whole recent period has been one in which the Left and generally progressive forces in the trade union movement have strengthened their influence, not only as supporters of the C.I.O. policy, as supporters of Lewis's and Murray's leadership in the labor movement, but in coming forward especially on questions of foreign policy, as an independent force, with strength and understanding and prestige in the labor movement.

The C.I.O., in the period since the outbreak of the war, has not only continued to play the progressive role it has since its emergence, but is now stronger organizationally, and exerts greater influence among the membership of the A. F. of L., and upon all sections of the population. The C.I.O. has emerged, as a result of the great struggles under its leadership, not only as a powerful trade union movement, but as an important political force in the country, with increased prestige, with increased authority among the mass of people, who more and more look to it as one of the strongest forces for support and leadership on all problems affecting the people and the security of our nation. These facts serve as guarantees that the labor movement as a whole, and especially the C.I.O., will continue to play an even more important role in the future. They also justify labor, and the people, in expecting, on the basis of their past policies and past role, that those labor lead-

ers, who have contributed so much to the growth of the labor movement, such men as Lewis, Murray, etc., will recognize that in the new situation there are greater possibilities for labor to play its rightful role in the affairs of the nation. The C.I.O. has from the beginning put forward the demand that labor have a voice in determining the policies of the country, of the Government. *That demand is now more vital than ever, and capable of realization.*

The progress of labor in the recent past in recognizing its responsibilities holds forth the promise that labor today—stronger than ever, and confronted not only with greater responsibilities but with greater opportunities—will come forward as the leader of the people in the struggle to defeat German fascism, for support to the Soviet Union and Britain. This perspective before the labor movement is emphasized when we consider that one of the principal sources of friction and division within the labor movement in the recent period can now become a source of strength. Important sections of the labor movement that were anti-fascist, that were opposed to Hitlerism, nevertheless saw clearly that United States participation in the war at that time did not serve to advance the struggle of the people against Hitlerism. Therefore this section of the anti-fascist labor movement joined with the Communists in opposing entry into the war, in fighting to stay out of the war. This section exerted tremendous influence over the course of events. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie was able, successfully, to exploit the anti-fascist senti-

ments of wide sections of the people and of labor especially, securing either their support or their passive acceptance of the war program. Thus, the bourgeoisie was able to divide labor and to take a certain section of the working class along with them, even though these forces were anti-fascist. However, it is of decisive importance to note that even this section of the working class, whose anti-fascist sentiments were exploited by the bourgeoisie, did not become the utter victim of Wall Street, that by and large it rejected the demand that labor should surrender its right to strike; that wages should be frozen, that labor should give up everything in the name of "national unity."

This section of the working class, the majority, in the recent period joined with all other sections of labor in advancing their rightful demands and engaging in militant struggles where it was necessary to achieve them.

That was the situation in the past. But today—today what was the source of weakness can become the source of strength for labor. It is now possible for labor to become united, to unify all of the anti-fascist forces under its leadership and thus to be able to exert influence on the government to follow the policy that is really anti-fascist—a program of the people and of labor. We must particularly see in this situation the possibilities of reaching and influencing the millions and millions who were victims of Wall Street's program and help unite them behind a real program of anti-fascist struggle.

This emphasizes both the tremen-

dous possibilities that exist and at the same time the need to work effectively. One of the biggest dangers in the situation can be sectarianism, a narrow approach that would create barriers between us and large sections of workers who, while sharing our anti-fascist feelings, nevertheless in the past disagreed with us. We must make it easier for these masses at this time to join hands with us in the common struggle to defeat Hitlerism, for all support to the people of Britain and the Soviet Union, and thereby defend the interests of the United States.

II

The trade unions will be confronted with two dangers—one, where activities continue in the old fashion, where the slogan "All aid to the Soviet Union and Great Britain" is put forward, but nothing more is done to realize this call for action. Everything remains about the same as formerly, except for the slogan of help to the Soviet and British peoples. The other danger is that vigilance will be slackened, that the struggle in defense of the economic demands of the workers will be abandoned or weakened, as some sections of the bourgeoisie are already demanding. But instead of abandoning or weakening the fight to defend labor's interests and rights, *a real people's program, national unity in the struggle against Hitlerism, calls for continued and intensified efforts to strengthen labor and defend its economic interests.*

There are those who say that in order to fight Hitlerism it is neces-

sary to sacrifice, and that therefore labor should not put forward demands for wage increases, improvement of conditions or for collective bargaining. Our answer to this is that labor stands ready to make all necessary sacrifices to assure the defeat of Hitlerism. But this does not mean that labor's rights should be curtailed but rather that they should be respected and enforced. National unity to defeat Hitlerism must not become a screen for the strengthening of Wall Street and enriching the profiteers.

A word on the "speculations" in the press—speculations which are but another form for slandering us—as to whether we will urge labor to stop "interfering with production," to refrain from strikes. Our policy, as that of all militant sections of labor, never aimed at interfering with production. Our policy is to help the masses defend their interests. There has been interference with production, but the responsibility rests with those who refused to heed the demands of the masses. What was true in the past will be true in the future, except that labor will be in a stronger position to defeat those people who will be responsible for interfering with production.

Organized labor should exert all efforts to encourage and make possible the organization of the unorganized upon a scale never seen before, to strengthen the labor movement by additional millions of workers, as one of the most important means of uniting the whole of the American people to assure the defeat of Hitlerism.

Labor and its friends must and

will continue with even more determination their efforts to defend wages and working conditions, and to protect the people's rights.

Some of the lessons of the recent struggles show, however, that certain sections of the labor movement must still learn that labor has need, not only for militant resistance to attacks on its living standards and rights, for defense of the right to strike, and for opposition to compulsory arbitration and the use of troops in labor disputes, as well as for exposure of labor enemies in its own ranks, but that it is also necessary to understand how to maneuver, how to adopt the most flexible tactics and those forms of struggle that best correspond to and can best cope with the given situation. They must always have in mind, not only the need to maintain the maximum unity of the workers involved in a given strike, but also the need to win and retain the support of other workers in the community, and of the workers in the nation generally, as well as the support of all the toiling masses—the working farmers, city middle classes, etc. They must make sure that the tactics adopted in the struggle will be understood and supported by the wide masses. In general, they must not follow a policy which would result in a single group of workers being thrown into battle against great odds.

Labor can and should seek to influence the formulation and execution of national policy toward the end of defeating fascism. Hence in the light of the new situation, the progressive labor forces need to revive their attitude, for instance, on

the question of labor's participation in various government boards. Labor's participation in these boards can and must become a means for fighting to accelerate aid to the Soviet Union and Britain in the interests of victory over fascism.

However, labor should have the right to designate its representatives to these boards instead of their being appointed by some outside authority. Moreover, these boards should not be merely "advisory."

In the present situation the militant forces have to judge all elements on the basis of the stand they take toward the defense of America against the fascist threat, on the question of aid to the Soviet Union and Britain, of supporting the people's fight to defeat Hitlerism. We must seek to bring about the broadest possible collaboration of all those forces that share this aim. As our Manifesto states, the basis for our work in the unions must be broad enough to embrace in fraternal collaboration all honest opponents of Hitlerism, all those willing to join in the common struggle for the defeat of Hitler; to unite and work out our policies with all such forces on this basis and to direct our main fire, our main struggle against those forces within the labor movement who at this time are conducting an anti-Soviet struggle and who are thereby sabotaging the struggle against Hitlerism.

While emphasizing the necessity to judge the forces, not on the basis of the past, but on the basis of their stand in the new situation, we need not enter into speculation as to specific individuals and groupings.

However, it is already possible to foresee a changed attitude on the part of large sections of workers who have been under reformist influence, under the influence of the Social-Democrats, workers who have had and continue to have illusions about Roosevelt. There can be no doubt that among these sections of workers, as for example in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers, there will be a radical change, because in this situation their sympathy and support undoubtedly will be on the side of those who are fighting to help destroy Hitlerism. They will appreciate the need of collaborating with all forces striving for the same end, and they will welcome, too, the opportunity to enter into joint struggle with the Communists for the common task and common aim, the annihilation of Hitlerism.

If there is a need in any industry for rapid re-orientation in the light of the new situation, it is certainly in the automobile industry. Here there should be the greatest effort on the part of the Left and all progressive forces to take the initiative in bringing about the unity of all the forces within the union on the basis of a program aimed at advancing the struggle against Hitlerism, of aid and support to the peoples of the Soviet Union and Britain. We can say here that certain weaknesses, already evident even before the new developments, if continued now, would indeed be disastrous. In the light of the new conditions, there is every reason for feeling that the prospects exist for the unity of all the con-

structive forces in this union. It is important to recognize this and to recognize that the attempt to prosecute the fight just along organizational lines will jeopardize the possibility of securing and maintaining a greater unity than has existed for some time in this union. Therefore, the emphasis must be on the effort to unite all those forces within this union sincerely wishing and seeking to aid the defeat of Hitlerism and the protection of the interests of the masses.

I think here, as in many other unions too, we must recognize that, while the need of combatting the Red-baiters as a force working to disrupt and divide the trade union movement continues and will remain of decisive importance, it is also necessary at this time, in the light of the new conditions, to recognize the need for an approach that will make it easier for those who have become dupes of the Red-baiters, who have unintentionally played into the hands of the reactionary forces, that will make it possible for these people to come to an agreement with us, to join with us and all genuine progressives in the struggle against Red-baiting. This requires an approach that takes into account that not all people who have in the past engaged in Red-baiting are friends of Hitler.

Many of these people will be willing—if we create the conditions, no matter what our difficulties in the past—to join with us in the struggle for the unity of the labor movement, for the people's fight for a victory over fascism. It is necessary to point out to these people,

in an unambiguous but friendly manner, that continuance of the Red-baiting campaign within the labor movement, especially at this time, serves to strengthen Hitler and his friends within this country; that for the labor movement successfully to advance the struggle against Hitlerism it is necessary once and for all to put an end to the anti-Communist campaign within the labor movement, and to expose and isolate those forces who continue as tools of the friends of Hitler, the enemies of labor in the labor movement.

Finally, we should emphasize in a general way that in the internal policy within the unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. as a whole, the Left and progressive forces must be guided by their main objective of maintaining the unity of these unions and especially of the C.I.O., on the basis of its convention program and for the complete defeat of Hitlerism. In the unions where the progressives are in the leadership they must open a broad policy of giving leadership to all those forces who seek to advance the interests of the membership of the union and the struggle against Hitlerism. These unions should be the model to all other unions—both in the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.—where real trade union leadership is followed, where all progressive forces are drawn into the leadership, where there is no monopoly or narrowness of leadership, where the workers' interests come first and are defended, where at the same time flexible tactics are followed, where the members are kept fully informed about the problems of the

union and also on the national and international affairs. In such unions the progressives will be able, not only to maintain and strengthen their position, but to unify the whole union behind them on the basis of such a program. Similarly, the progressive and Left forces should follow such a broad policy with regard to the problems of leadership in those unions where the middle elements are in the leadership; but in all cases it should be made clear to the workers that the progressive forces are not merely after posts, but that they are fighting for policy, and where fighting for posts is involved that this is but an essential part of the fight for policy. The rank and file must be convinced of this.

In general, there should be avoided any over-simplification in grouping leadership on one side or another, without taking into account the intermediate forces. Our objective should not be to see how many of such people can be pushed over to the side of the reactionaries but rather to search out and unite all forces for the purpose of defending the workers' interests and rights—the position of defending the unity of the union and securing the defeat of fascism.

III

We must note at this meeting with appreciation the great contributions that the comrades active in trade union work have made to the trade union movement. It is to be regretted that some of the comrades outstanding in this field are unable to be present. We note and appreciate the work of the tens of

thousands of rank-and-file comrades; we value deeply the work of those Communists who have won the confidence of the workers, who have been placed by them in responsible and leading positions. We are all the more confident of our ability to carry through our tasks in the new situation because to a great extent our trade union forces in the last year and a half have been faced with most difficult tests, and by and large, from top to bottom, they have met these tests with a loyalty, with an ability that deserve our admiration and respect.

We can well be proud of the work of our comrades. Our successes, our proven abilities, our established position in the trade union movement should at this time, however, also lead us to a more critical attitude toward certain weaknesses of our work. It is necessary to recognize the existence of weaknesses in our trade union work which have prevailed for some time and which we have noted in many of our discussions. The fact that these weaknesses are still reflected in some places in our reaction to the new situation necessitates that we focus our attention on these problems at this committee meeting and before the entire Party, that we put our finger on the nature of these weaknesses, determine their solution and establish guarantees that they will be rapidly eliminated. How did these weaknesses find expression, for instance, in the events since Hitler's unprovoked attack on the Soviet Union? They found expression in two incidents that I will cite. Two important and loyal people for whom I have the greatest respect

and in whom I have the fullest confidence, related to me that a day or two after the attack they were called by reporters—not for the *Daily Worker* but for the capitalist press—who asked if they had any comment to make. What was the answer of these two responsible and loyal persons who were incensed at the attack of Hitler? The answer was “no comment.” I know this took place, and I fear that it was also true of the great majority of progressive trade union leaders. The position of nearly all of them for the first few days was, “no comment.”

Well, certainly something is wrong here. Why didn't they have any comment? The reason was, not that their sympathy was not with the Soviet Union, but an uncertainty as to what they should say and how to say it without creating unnecessary difficulties in their union. I agree that it is necessary to say the proper thing and to create no difficulties and to strengthen, not weaken, one's position. But I still think that when the fascist hordes invade Soviet Russia, responsible trade union leaders should have some comment and should make it immediately.

We would not be quite so perturbed by such incidents if they were isolated, if this had been the first time; but, unfortunately, this is not the case. We see here the same political weaknesses that have prevailed in our work for some time, and the fact that they persist, that they interfere with our reactions in such crucial periods as today, makes it necessary for us to say that these weaknesses now

have become a major problem; that they interfere with the application of our policy; that they might not only jeopardize our whole work, our whole standing, but weaken the whole trade union movement; and that because this is so, we must focus our attention upon them and guarantee their elimination.

Let us see what is the nature of these weaknesses, the manner in which they have been manifested over a period of time. We notice, first of all, that during the period following the outbreak of the imperialist war, while our forces had great successes and developed considerable activity in the struggle against the imperialist war program of the bourgeoisie, this work was limited and did not lead those unions influenced by progressives and Communists actually to play the leading role in the anti-imperialist movement under the conditions at that time. These weaknesses were reflected also in the limited scope of the achievements to be noted in the struggle to win the labor movement for independent political action. But perhaps the most serious weakness of the Left and progressive forces—both in the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., but especially in the C.I.O.—was the failure to challenge the Red-baiting attacks, which on a number of occasions were, in a modified form, adopted as the official position of the C.I.O. without any opposition. By allowing the reactionary forces to lump Communism with fascism, the Left and all progressive forces laid themselves and the unions open precisely to the kind of attacks that were witnessed in the last few weeks.

How can we explain the failure of the Left and progressive forces to fight back on this issue? First, they underestimated the fact that this Red-baiting was an attack on the labor movement and the American people as a whole. They were, unfortunately, not prepared to meet the challenge when it came in the form of lumping Communism and fascism together. At best, they had previously defended the rights of Communists solely on the ground of civil liberties or their right of membership in the unions regardless of political opinions. This, of course, must still be done, but this in itself was not and is not enough. They were confronted with an attack on Communists as enemies of the labor movement and could only fight it by condemning fascism. But at the same time, even if not prepared to defend the Communist Party as such, they should have defended the rights of the Communists as part of the trade union and working class movement, showing the contributions they have made to the labor movement, how self-sacrificing they have been in the interests of the workers, and how they work as disciplined trade unionists under democratic processes of the union.

Such an approach and defense of Communists was taken up only in rare cases. Nor could the Left and progressive forces limit themselves merely to defense of the rights of Communists in the trade unions and prevent Red-baiting from being effective in the trade unions. To be consistent and effective they also must defend the rights of the Communists as citizens. On this, the Left

and progressive forces failed almost completely.

We have seen how the trade union movement of the Latin American countries has come to the defense of Comrade Browder, and how many trade union leaders have taken up the fight for the release of Comrade Browder in this country. But even when hundreds of outstanding liberals, educators, churchmen and professionals took up the fight for the rights of the Communists, the leading Left and progressive trade union leaders did not join in. In these various fields we saw these weaknesses prevail.

I want to sound a warning. There might be some who will say that because the lumping of Communism with fascism has become so obviously ridiculous, we do not need to look into the situation and that everything will be easy sledding. To those who think that Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union solved our problem of fighting the Red-baiters, we must say that they are greatly mistaken. It is necessary for us to focus our attention on, and find out the reasons for, these weaknesses. We must also note the slowness and uncertainty with which our trade union forces have always reacted to new turns and developments. In very few cases have they reacted promptly and decisively.

What is the reason that we see these weaknesses persisting over a period of time? We must, first of all, comrades, reject explanations of these weaknesses which would question the loyalty, the devotion of these forces to the working class, to the Party. That would be a seri-

ous mistake, since these are the forces who nevertheless have carried through our Party position, who have helped the labor movement to make great advances. Yes, there was slowness; but, after due time of discussion and with the help of the Party, these forces were able to register significant results.

It is obvious, with people who so consistently fought for our program and were able to register it among the masses, that there can be no question of their loyalty to the working class or to the Party, and any attempt in the discussion of these weaknesses to challenge the sincerity of these comrades must be condemned and rejected at once.

This does not eliminate, however, the need for finding an answer as to why these weaknesses have developed and how to overcome them. What, in my opinion, do these things mean? They mean, first of all, that our comrades in most cases were not politically convinced of the vital importance of this phase of our work, as part of the everyday trade union work, and that without solving these questions we could not help solve the other problems of the trade union movement. Most of our trade unionists do not yet consider these issues as important as a wage-cut, or as an effort to organize the unorganized. Let the boss cut the workers' wages, and our people will act immediately, which is excellent. Let Hitler invade the Soviet Union, well, they wait a day or two before doing anything. They do not see that these things are part of the every-day struggle in the trade union work and that unless we can overcome these

weaknesses, unless we learn how to bring these problems into the trade union work, we cannot help the masses in the trade unions effectively to launch their struggles for their most elementary interests.

Secondly, there is not a full understanding of the international and national situation and how this affects our work in every union. Comrades do not feel that work in the unions must also have the aim of influencing events, nationally and internationally; they do not sufficiently feel that everything that happens in the nation, that happens internationally, has a direct effect on and meaning for the practical work of the trade unions.

These, in my opinion, are the main reasons for the weaknesses. If that is so, then who must accept the responsibility, who is to be blamed? I believe the first thing we must say is that the primary responsibility rests upon the leadership of the Party, because it means that we have been unable to convince important, capable comrades in regard to the political importance of certain of their tasks. It means, therefore, that we must share responsibility for this weakness, and this National Committee meeting should result in greater attention and more determined help to our comrades in this respect. Of course, this does not eliminate the responsibility of the individual comrades, of Communist trade unionists. They, too, certainly have considerable responsibility in this situation. Perhaps what is required of them could be put this way: that we expect of them, as Lenin said, to be not only trade union leaders, but to become real

tribunes of the people. That is the slogan we should put forward to our Party members in the trade union field, especially to those holding leading posts: Strive to become real tribunes of the people.

I am sure that if we place before the Party the seriousness of these weaknesses and the reasons for them, we shall be able to mobilize the entire Party, from top to bottom, for bringing about rapidly, as the situation demands, an end to this weakness in our trade union work.

We can have confidence in our ability to do this rapidly, because now conditions are favorable for initiating a bold fight for the full rights of the Communists in the unions, for the civil rights of our Party, and for the freedom of Comrade Browder. We must, as part of our whole program and tasks at this time, place special emphasis upon bold steps along these lines, boldly to come forward in the fight for the rights of the Communists in the unions, for the legality of our Party, and especially to accomplish what has hardly been begun yet, to make the trade unions ring from one end of the country to the other with the slogan, "Free Earl Browder." We can do this if comrades in the unions seriously undertake this task. Likewise, we should encourage all of our forces working in the unions at this time to give special attention to activizing thousands of Party members, as well as people formerly in the Party who dropped out largely because of passivity, to bring these back into the Party, and at the same time to take advantage of the conditions that are maturing for recruiting thousands of addition-

al trade unionists into the Party as one of the essential conditions for helping the trade union movement to realize its responsibilities at this time.

Further, we must emphasize to all our members in the trade union movement and especially the leading ones, the importance of study, the importance of mastering the teachings of Browder, the importance of becoming in every sense more capable, more qualified trade union, Communist trade union, leaders. We must emphasize this because in the past year and a half we have had to face many new situations through which we were able to find our way because we were armed with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism. In the coming period we shall face many new and difficult problems, and unless our comrades in the unions become better qualified, they will be unable to cope with all of the various problems.

To conclude, we have before us great tasks—tasks which, if realized, will be important contributions in determining that the workers, the people will be victorious in the situation of emergency facing our country, that fascism will be crushed.

We will carry on the struggle more convinced and more determined than ever, because we are inspired by the heroic resistance of the Soviet people, because we know that at their head stands Comrade Stalin, because we know that the teachings of Comrade Browder, applied in practice, will help us to prepare the American working class to fulfill its responsibility in this situation.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE NEW WORLD SITUATION

BY JAMES W. FORD

*(Based on a report to the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee,
C.P.U.S.A., June 28-29, 1941)*

ON JUNE 22 Hitler fascists unleashed an unprovoked military attack upon the Soviet Union.

Once again the enslaved peoples of Africa, the peoples of Asia, the semi-dependent countries of South America and the Caribbean and the Negro people of America were given an object lesson in the mad drive of the Hitler fascists to conquer the world and to enslave nations and peoples everywhere. The masses of Negro people everywhere, toilers in the mines, mills and factories and in the fields, down in the South and far away in the heart of Africa, along with the toilers throughout the world are drawn together in the realization that Hitler's attack against the Soviet Union is calculated to bind the chains of slavery on peoples in all lands in the most brutal domination in the history of the world. Nothing can stop this threat except the complete military defeat and annihilation of the German fascist monsters.

This bestial onslaught of the Hitler fascists menaces the world with terror, slavery and barbarity such as are unknown in the annals of history. The Spanish conquistadores left a bloody trail of human misery

on our continent. The four hundred years of human slavery in the Americas with their dreadful toll of death, exploitation and human degradation, all these ghastly pages from the past have been exceeded in Germany and Europe by the Nazi fiends and cannibals. Their schemes to enslave the world would plunge humanity into a terrible hell far worse than anything that has gone before.

This perfidious attack of Hitler against the Soviet Union has shocked the great masses into a sharper and clearer understanding of the mortal peril that overhangs the world. A world-shaking realignment of forces is taking place.

With this new turn of events the menace to the national interests and security of the United States has assumed tremendous proportions. Particularly is the threat to the United States borders in Alaska linked with the double threat to the Far Eastern provinces of the U.S. S.R. from both Japan and Germany. As long as the Soviet Union was able to keep out of the war the danger to America's security was so much less because Hitler would not dare to attack the United States,

3,000 miles away from his European base, with the powerful Soviet Union standing on the borders of the occupied lands, with the peoples of the fascist-conquered lands yearning for liberation.

The glorious people's Red Army is arousing the world with its mighty resistance to the fascist hordes.

If Hitler were able, with the aid of his Hoover-Lindbergh-Thomas and British Tory fifth-columnists, to realize his bloody dream of conquering the mighty Soviet Union he could then quickly dispose of the brave resistance of the British peoples, he would be able to menace America with the threat of conquest by fascism, with brutal enslavement.

The broad masses are recognizing this menace to our American independence and security. Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, in the name of the British and American Governments, have also recognized that the common danger to Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet Union urgently demands common action by these three great powers to defeat the Hitler menace.

This criminal attack on the Soviet Union places in jeopardy all that is dear to us in democracy and the liberties that the workers and the toilers generally have striven for over the centuries. The achievements of the Soviet Union in liberating oppressed nationalities and fostering their free development during the last quarter century awakened oppressed peoples to new life and hope as nothing before in the history of the world has done. These achievements have had a

profound effect on the political consciousness of the Negro people in the United States.

In tsarist Russia nationalities were subjected to the cruelest oppression. Non-Russian people were denied all rights. They were subjected to humiliation and abuse. The Russian population was instigated to look down upon the various non-Russian nationalities, and to regard them as inferior. Contempt and hatred were fostered toward them. Distrust and suspicion were engendered among all. Tsarism followed a policy of playing nation against nation so as to cause disunity among all in order to maintain its despotic rule over the Russian as well as non-Russian peoples.

In 1905 Maxim Gorky wrote:

"Never, in any country in the world, throughout the entire history of mankind, was the struggle of the dominant class to maintain its rule over the people carried on so disgracefully, so shamelessly, and with such cynical savagery as is being carried on in our country, in our bloody day." *

That was the state of affairs in old Russia under the Tsar.

The Soviet Regime Brought Freedom to All Nationalities

When the Soviet Government came to power in 1917 this state of affairs was wiped out. Lenin and Stalin waged an irreconcilable struggle against the tsarist policy of national oppression and enslavement of peoples. Every form of discrimination against races was abol-

* M. Gorky, *Early Revolutionary Journalistic Writings*, 1938, p. 120.

ished. Punishment was meted out to anyone practicing contempt and meanness toward nations or races. A merciless struggle was waged against "theories" of inferiority or superiority of races. The "Declaration of the Rights of Peoples of Russia," signed by Lenin and Stalin, was promulgated as a basic law in 1917. It abolished all privileges or restrictions based on the position of nationalities, and proclaimed the right of all nationalities inhabiting the territory of Russia to unhampered development. Full play was opened up for the cultural development of the many nationalities in the Soviet Union. All reactionary cults and "theories" presuming to justify superiority of one race over another have been utterly disproved and uprooted in the Soviet Union, where new mutual trust and fraternal relations between people are the rule. The policies of the Soviet Union stand out in sharp contrast to the brutal racial policies of fascist Germany.

Henri Barbusse, the great French writer, in a speech at the International Writers Congress in Paris in 1935, declared:

"The Soviet Union is not a nation but an aggregation of nations and countless, exceedingly diverse regions, in which the broad and admirable law of the state protects their ethnical peculiarities and their human dignity. The Constitution of the Federation of Soviet Nationalities provides them all with the necessary minimum of material and administrative ties and each of them with spiritual independence. It abolishes the last vestiges of enmity among nationalities and races. As a result, we have before us an

astounding efflorescence of cultures and their harmonious unity in the matter of aiming for perfection and universal emancipation. . . ."

The Stalin Constitution of the Soviet Union, the living expression today of the achievements of the Soviet people, is an inspiration to peoples struggling for freedom and democracy in all parts of the world. Article 123 of the Soviet Constitution declares, and the socialist state enforces,

"Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

Joseph Stalin, who had most to do with the writing of the Soviet Constitution, speaking at the Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets on Nov. 23, 1936, emphasized, among other points, that the Soviet Constitution

". . . proceeds from the premise that all nations and races, irrespective of their past or present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, must enjoy equal rights in all spheres, economic, social and the cultural life of society." **

All of these achievements which progressive mankind has hailed are

* Henri Barbusse, *Nation and Culture*, Paris, 1935, p. 260.

** Stalin on the *New Soviet Constitution*, International Publishers, New York, p. 14.

now threatened by the German fascist attack on the Soviet Union. Stalin said in his radio broadcast to the Russian people on July 3:

"He [the fascist enemy] is out to restore the rule of landlords, to restore tsarism, to destroy national culture and the national state existence of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Uzbeks, Tatars, Moldavians, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijani, and the other free peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize them, to convert them into the slaves of German princes and barons."

The oppressed Negro people are not, cannot be, indifferent to this threat to the Soviet Union, to the threat of world domination by the Nazi beast.

The Nazi rulers despise the peoples of the Negro race. If the German fascists are not destroyed their theories of Aryan superiority doom the Negro people to eternal slavery, "hewers of stone and carriers of water." In Hitler's scheme of a so-called "New Order" the Negro people are assigned to be beasts of burden; their aspirations for national freedom and liberty are threatened with complete obliteration.

The Negro people have already had terrifying experiences with Hitlerism and fascism. In 1936 Ethiopia was invaded by Hitler's vassal, the Italian fascists. Disregarding all international law and the covenant of the League of Nations, the territory of Ethiopia was violated by Mussolini's fascist legions, under the cover of seeking out Communism in the economically undeveloped territory of Ethiopia. The leaders of the

Ethiopian people appealed to the conscience of humanity for aid against the violation of their borders. The Soviet Union almost alone fought for sanctions against Italy in the League of Nations.

Negro people throughout the world were aroused to the greatest indignation and hatred against fascism by this unprovoked attack on Ethiopia. From the United States a delegation, including Communist leaders, was sent to Geneva, Switzerland, to interview the Ethiopian Ambassador. The spokesman for the delegation, in setting forth the menace and character of fascism, stated to the Ambassador as follows:

"The ideals which motivate the Negro masses to stand solidly behind Ethiopia are those of racial ties and the desire to aid a small nation whose independence and national and economic existence are threatened by big powers and megalomaniac fascism, and this it seems not only in the case of Liberia and Ethiopia but in the case of a great nation like China, nations like Czechoslovakia and Central and South American countries, Cuba, Haiti, etc.

"Our racial ties are remote but out mutual fight for national existence in a world of big bandit nations is clear and tangible, and we stand ready to defend the long history and the fine cultural and national growth of the Ethiopian people, so that Ethiopia, by maintaining its freedom, may have the possibility of progressive growth, unhampered by the destructive forces of the so-called 'civilized' nations." *

* *War on Ethiopia*, An Interview with Teclé Hawariate, Ethiopian Ambassador at Geneva, published by Harlem Communist Party, New York, 1935, p. 5.

To these propositions the Ethiopian Ambassador with great dignity and determination replied:

"The case of Ethiopia and Italy brings before the whole world the question of a big nation against a small nation; it is a question of *justice or might*. The hour has come when it must be known once and for all: Ethiopia has the right to maintain its independence; or is she to be condemned for being colored?"

Finally, expressing deep respect for the Soviet Union and its representative at the League of Nations, the Ethiopian Ambassador continued:

"I think that Mr. Litvinoff spoke and acted right. What he speaks and does is sincere. I find him genuine!"

History has confirmed the correctness of the policies of the Soviet Union in regard to the struggle to maintain peace and in regard to defense of small nations and peoples attacked by aggressors. All of these experiences have fully justified the love and faith which Negro people everywhere hold toward the Soviet Union.

The Negro People in the Struggle Against Fascism

If any people values the great achievements of the Soviet Union, the land which has abolished the last vestiges of enmity among nationalities and races, it is the Negro people. The Negro people have defended their rights and liberties here in the United States. They have striven to develop their culture and

to enjoy a decent and happy life. They taste the bitter poison of racial inferiority doctrines and discrimination. They have fought for democracy; they have defended it against all those individuals and policies that endanger its existence here in America. Nowhere in the world have a people loved and fought for liberty and democracy more valiantly than the Negro people. That is why they fight diligently for equality for themselves and stand ready to render every aid in the defense of the Soviet Union and for aid to the people of Britain and the Chinese people, against those who menace freedom and liberty here, and on a world scale. Such are the requirements of the new international situation.

We must exert every effort to defeat the appeasers and Munichmen such as the Lindberghs, who are dragging the fascist stench of Aryan ideology across America, trying to divide and antagonize the people. Lindbergh and his group are all the more reprehensible in their attacks on the Soviet Union, by their sly sallies against the greatest foe of Hitler and fascism, Stalin, by dragging in so-called "Asiatic despotism." Lenin and Stalin destroyed this tsarist policy in old Russia. And this fascist racial trash will now be wiped off the face of the earth.

The people must reject the Lindbergh-Hoover policy in our domestic life to assure its defeat abroad.

The struggles of the Negro people have placed them in the foremost rank of all forces that struggle for democracy in our country; they have become a solid and most important ally of the working

class. This alliance was further cemented by the splendid fighting qualities and solidarity displayed by the Negro proletariat in the recent struggles of the workers of this country.

The Negro people showed a great determination in the struggle against the effects of the imperialist war following its outbreak in 1939. When the United States began to gear up for participation in the struggle between the rival imperialist powers under the slogan of defending "democracy," the Negro people were not deceived. Roosevelt sought to gain support of the Negroes but upheld the policy of Jim-Crowism in the Army and Navy. In the light of this, his appeal to "help save democracy" was a flagrant mockery. The overwhelming masses of the Negro people exhibited "bitterness" against the national policy of Jim Crow. Mass actions on a nationwide scale were organized to fight discrimination in national defense industries; Negroes expressed their determination to end unemployment, segregation, lynching and the poll tax. These mass actions were forerunners of the plans for a "March on Washington." Undoubtedly this march had full support among the Negro people. When it was called off by the initiators, bitter resentment, which was fully justified, arose among wide circles, especially among young people, and in the various committees set up throughout the country. The President was forced to issue an Executive order against discrimination in national defense industries and inequality in vocational training.

In the present, new international situation, the struggle for the rights of the Negro people is an inseparable part of the struggle against fascism and reaction, for democracy and equality; it is an inseparable part of the international people's front to defeat and destroy Hitler fascism. Our task now is to fight for the fullest implementation of the Executive order of the President to wipe out Jim-Crowism. In this sense this order is a victory. When this order is fully applied and hundreds of thousands of jobs are immediately made available to Negro workers, jobs to which they are entitled and which they need, an enormous man-power will be added to the industrial life of our country. When equal facilities for vocational training are immediately made available to Negro youth and Negro workers generally, hundreds of thousands of new skilled hands will speed up the defense industries. The struggle for jobs for Negro workers and against discrimination involves not only the issue of equal rights; it is also a struggle for the full utilization of the mills, mines and factories of our country to assure the defeat of the Nazi menace.

Oust Jim-Crowism from the Armed Forces

Hundreds of thousands of young Negroes are being inducted into the armed forces. The Negroes are deeply concerned about Jim-Crowism in the basic armed defense of the nation. The right to bear arms is one of the first fundamentals of a democratic people. The long history of the struggle in this country for democracy and liberty has al-

ways found that the Negro people understand this basic right. No people can be free or can demand the right of freedom who do not understand this question. The Negro people must demand the right to bear arms--on the basis of the fullest equality in the defense of democracy and liberty. When this right is denied, it is unjust; when it is provided on the basis of discrimination, it is doubly unjust.

Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist, understood this question. In the period of the progressive struggle of the Civil War against slavery, Frederick Douglass demanded of Lincoln that Negro troops be placed in the Union army on the basis of equal treatment with white troops.

The President's Executive order against discrimination raises practical problems that need immediate adjustment in relation to the armed forces. The Negro people support the demand for democratizing the army.

Equality of treatment must be given to Negro soldiers in the United Service Organizations. The U.S.O. must be expanded for Negro selectees in the South and proportional equal allotment of funds for recreational purposes among Negroes must be made. Democracy and the unity of the people for the defense of the national interests of this country demand an end to segregation of Negro from white troops. Any other policy, the policy of Jim-Crowism, is the policy of Hitlerism and fascism. The interests of proper treatment of Negro troops demand that Ku Kluxers and pro-fascist anti-Negro elements be

cleaned out of the armed forces of the country.

Finally, the special O.P.M. committee of five proposed by President Roosevelt in his Executive order to deal with the problem of discrimination must include representatives of all of the most influential Negro organizations that have been foremost in the struggle for equality and jobs for Negroes.

The program of, and the campaign around the proposed March to Washington concentrated upon the demands for jobs for the Negro people as a central burning issue of the day. Many progressive trade unions and progressive white forces particularly supported the March to Washington because of that demand: Jobs for the Negro people!

The possibilities for uniting the Negro people in the struggle for full rights and for support to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the Chinese people, toward the end of destroying fascism, exist now as never before. Certainly, on the background of struggles against discrimination in defense industries and the policy of discrimination through Jim Crow, the National Negro Congress has done a splendid job. It has enlisted support of labor and the progressive forces generally. Then there is the magnificent statement, "Negroes Speak Out," which was endorsed by a broad cross section of the Negro population. This statement shows great possibilities for further uniting the Negro people. There has been a tremendous growth of militancy and organization among the Negro youth. The Negro youth movement has reached great heights in the

South and in the North. During the struggle of the Ford workers, Negro youth played a big role in throwing the weight of the Negroes against Ford. The movement among Negro women is growing, around all the basic issues that face the Negro people.

Many other organizations and groups among the Negro people are giving a good account of themselves. We can endorse wholeheartedly the reports of the convention of the N.A.A.C.P. in Houston, Texas, showing the changed tendencies in that organization.

However, in all of these organizations and movements there is still the matter of broad, united, cooperative action of these basic organizations of the Negro people struggling in behalf of the Negro people. This situation demands and places before us the following tasks for the immediate future:

1. To work for greater collaboration between the Negro people's movement and the organized labor movement, because the fate of our country and that of the Negro people lies in the progressive organized labor movement that has the opportunity and ability to organize all the toilers for the defense of the best interests of our country and to help annihilate fascism at home and abroad, and also for the defense of the special interests of the Negro people. When the trade unions understand and boldly take up the defense of the rights of the Negro workers, great victories can be won in their behalf. The Negro people must work toward the fullest cooperation with the labor move-

ment. The trade unions have a splendid chance to take bold, organized steps to abolish discrimination in industry and in the trade unions against Negroes.

2. The threat of fascism requires that the Negroes work to influence the foreign policy of the government, to the end that its action correspond with the spoken words of Roosevelt of "all possible aid" to the U.S.S.R., to encourage and support the President's policy of "all possible aid to the Soviet Union" in order to defeat Hitler fascism. It demands that Earl Browder, beloved leader of the American people, be immediately released to take his place at the head of his Party, leading the people in victorious struggle against fascism. The Negro people must fight against the unjust political persecution of Earl Browder.

3. To work to unite all the forces and organizations of the Negro people, in order to develop the fullest power of the Negro people to fight for their rights and against reaction.

4. We must work among the Negro people in such a way as to achieve cooperation with all sincere and progressive people; we must avoid the danger of sectarianism, and find the way to all those elements in this changing international situation who are inclined to go along in the struggle against fascism and reaction and to join with us and with the progressive forces.

I could make special reference to the careful consideration of our attitude even to people who a week ago had different attitudes and policies with regards to the March

to Washington and people in other sections and organizations, Negro reformists and others whom we have to work with. We must have the broadest approach in this situation to win them in support of the struggle to aid the Soviet Union and Britain.

I believe the present international situation provides the possibility for the broadest approach to these people, especially the leaders of the various organizations, and certain Social-Democratic leaders among the Negro people.

5. We must fight against discrimination in the armed forces, for the right of the Negroes to bear arms in defense of democracy on the basis of equality.

6. The Communist Party must increase its efforts in behalf of the Negro people and win Negroes for the Communist Party. The reports at this National Committee meeting have shown that in many sections and districts substantial gains have been made in recruiting Negroes, especially Negro industrial workers, into our Party in that great campaign in behalf of the freedom of Comrade Earl Browder, and I think the possibilities today are still greater for winning Negroes into our Communist Party.

The struggles of the Communist Party in the Scottsboro and Hernon cases are still the best examples which show that great gains can be won for the Negro people when the Communist Party carries on the struggle with its understanding of the fundamental problems of the Negroes. It is in such a way that we can really bring the masses of the Negro people to the Party. How-

ever, in this new period we must begin to develop more intensive ideological work among the Negroes, explaining to them the struggle against fascism, explaining the policies of the Soviet Union, explaining socialism and communism.

7. We must give the greatest attention to winning and organizing the Negro industrial proletariat. They have come forward in the recent period of struggle of the labor movement of our country as most valiant fighters; they are not backward people, as some enemies of the Negro people have tried to characterize them, in order to bar them from joining the trade unions. The Negro workers have belied all of these attacks on them by the reactionaries; they have shown themselves to be militant trade unionists who understand the problems of the trade unions and desire to join in building the trade union organizations. Our greatest attention should be given to winning the Negro proletariat into the trade unions and into the Communist Party.

8. At the same time we must give great attention to the problems of the Negro middle class and intellectual elements, who bear in great measure the great cultural aspirations of the Negro people, and who play an important role in the struggle of the Negro people for democracy and for defense of the democratic institutions of our country.

The attack on the Soviet Union opens up the possibility for the unity of forces on a world scale to wipe fascism from the face of the earth, and develop a path for freedom and democracy for peoples throughout the world.

OUR TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT HITLERISM

BY GIL GREEN

*(Based on a report to the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee,
C.P.U.S.A., June 28-29, 1941.)*

THE involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has profoundly affected the relationship of world forces and has begun a process of reshifting and realignment within all classes and on the part of all nations. Already, even in the short period since June 22, it is possible to discern certain trends at work among the various classes and class groupings in the United States. These are of utmost importance and must be given the closest attention by our Party, since they indicate not only the line of direction of the main forces in the country but also the complicated problems and tasks that face our Party and the progressive, anti-fascist movement if the nation and its people are to be united in the common fight against Hitler.

In the working class and among the more conscious anti-fascist masses there is not only increased interest in but renewed determination to wage the struggle against Hitler to the finish. These masses now see the possibility and opportunity to defeat Hitler and destroy

fascism. This anti-fascist mass not only sympathizes with the struggle of the Soviet Union but desires to give it full support and aid for the military defeat of Hitler, the annihilation of Hitlerism.

While the overwhelming majority of the American people sympathize with and wish to support the struggle of the Soviet Union against German fascism, it must also be noted that certain strata of the population, especially sections of the farmers and the urban middle class, view the involvement of the Soviet Union as an opportunity for withdrawing America from the struggle. These masses determine their position mainly from the consideration of keeping this country out of the armed conflict and have not yet grasped the increased menace which confronts America's national and social security as a result of the new world situation. They do not yet see that a victory of Nazi arms over the Soviet Union would not only win the war for Hitler but would make fascist Germany the single all-power-

ful world imperialist state, a state so mighty as to be able to force its will upon the rest of the world, including the United States. Neither do they realize that if the great land of socialism were destroyed this would inevitably stimulate reaction and fascism throughout the world and would destroy the democratic rights and living standards of the American people as a whole.

It is these masses—sections of the farming population, sections of the urban middle class, sections of the Catholic masses—who are most influenced by the isolationist and pacifist demagoguery of the Lindberghs, Hoovers, Coughlins, Wheelers and Norman Thomases, and are therefore prey to their pro-Hitler appeasement program. It would be a cardinal error, however, to believe that these masses are reactionary, to neglect them, to fail to work among them, or to fail to make a distinction between their honest confusion and the conscious treason of the aims and policies of the "America First Committee" leadership.

In the ranks of the bourgeoisie there are also trends that we must be aware of and pay close attention to. First, there is the camp of the appeasers. This camp is made up of the open friends of Hitler and Hitlerism. Its program has already been made known to the American people in the recent speeches of Lindbergh, Hoover and Wheeler, who openly call for a negotiated peace with Hitler and declare their preference for a united front with Nazi Germany to one with the Soviet Union. This camp therefore rep-

resents today the most reactionary circles of imperialism, the *main enemy* that the American people must combat if Hitler and fascism are to be destroyed.

Another variation of the appeasement theme is the position taken by the Scripps-Howard press, which advocates "a plague on both their houses," a policy ostensibly aimed at the simultaneous destruction of "Hitler and Stalin" but in reality another version of Munich betrayal.

The appeasers represent powerful financial interests and exert a strong influence upon Washington, even though the main section of the bourgeoisie continues to be haunted by the fear of a Hitler victory, realizing that such a victory would be at the expense of the national interests of the United States. It is therefore of extreme importance to watch the trends in the camp of the anti-Hitler and pro-Roosevelt bourgeoisie and to maintain constant vigilance against any moves in the direction of appeasing the appeasers.

As long as the main body of the bourgeoisie is haunted by fear of a Hitler victory over the U.S.S.R. it will continue to advocate aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union. But if in the course of the war the bourgeoisie is led to believe that Hitler's chances of victory have disappeared or are disappearing, many of the present antagonists of Hitler may turn toward a policy of conciliation or capitulation.

Such approaches to the question already find their expression in the editorial columns of the most influential Wall Street owned news-

papers. This is the meaning of the editorial which appeared in the *New York Times* objecting to the slogan of "Aid Russia." This editorial attempted to separate the Western from the Eastern Front, declaring that the Soviet Front was of secondary importance and only a diversion. This is the meaning of those who advocate a wait-and-see policy, who call for a more rapid arming of Britain not so that she can strike *now*, but so that she can be better prepared to defend herself "if and when the Soviet Union falls."

Tendencies such as these represent grave dangers for the United States and for Great Britain. In the United States as well as in Britain, it would be extremely difficult to put over a policy of outright appeasement. The people are too strongly anti-Hitler for that. Appeasement therefore in part assumes a sneaking form, as it did during the first six months of the imperialist war, during the so-called *Sitzkrieg* on the Western Front. That is why the question of transforming the Western Front into a real front, the question of an offensive on this front against Hitler, is of utmost importance in order to deliver a decisive blow against Hitler *now* when it will do the most good, and in order to defeat any attempts at another Munich betrayal.

For these reasons it would be a grave mistake for those who want to see Hitler destroyed to call for aid to the Soviet Union only or to counterpose it to continued and increased aid to Britain. Such a pol-

icy would only be of assistance to the appeasers. It would help Hitler, who is in deathly fear of fighting on two fronts. Every blow against Hitler today is a blow in the interests of the Soviet people, the British people, the people of Europe and of the entire world. We must support these blows *completely*, for no matter who delivers them or for what reasons, they help to defeat and annihilate the main enemy of mankind. Communism is not the issue. The Soviet people are fighting for their national independence and liberty, they are fighting for the liberation of the peoples of Europe from fascist enslavement, they are fighting against Hitler's domination of the world. Today there is but one issue before the people; the complete military defeat of Hitler and Hitlerism.

The Roosevelt Administration

What, therefore, is our position toward the Roosevelt Administration? First, we recognize that at this time the Roosevelt Administration represents those groupings of the American bourgeoisie which aim to bring about the military defeat of Hitler, as is indicated by the recent declarations of President Roosevelt and Sumner Welles, branding Hitler as the aggressor and pledging all possible aid to the Soviet Union. Second, we know that there is great pressure from the appeasement forces upon the Roosevelt Administration and that within the Administration itself there are individuals and groups who favor a policy of conciliation toward fascism. Third,

we also recognize that the Roosevelt Administration is amenable to pressure from the masses and especially from the organized labor movement, and that this independent organization and pressure of the masses will especially assume decisive importance as the most reactionary circles of imperialism increase their activity and pressure for appeasement.

Therefore the progressive labor and people's movement must support every step and action of the Roosevelt Administration directed toward bringing about the military defeat of Hitler, while at all times maintaining an independent policy of criticism and opposition to every half-hearted or conciliatory move, to every attempt at retreat, to every act aimed at appeasement of the forces of Hitler abroad and at home. The labor and people's movement, while concentrating their main fire upon the friends of Hitler in this country, must criticize the Roosevelt forces to the extent that their policy is inconsistent, to the extent that they consciously or unconsciously give aid to Hitler or Hitler's friends.

The only guarantee that the fight against Hitler will be carried to its logical conclusion is the mobilization and unification of the American people, of all opponents of Hitlerism, into a powerful national front of struggle for the military defeat of Nazi fascism. The national unity of the American people is what we must strive for if all the great power of this country is to be harnessed toward this end.

* * *

The line of our Party, which aims at the rallying and unification of the American people in the fight against Hitler, poses before us a host of practical political problems. Some of these we shall touch on at this time, not in order to answer them in detail, but so as to provide a general approach to them.

The Municipal Elections

First of all, we must point out that with the new world situation the municipal elections that will take place this fall in many parts of the country assume tremendous importance. They will offer the first electoral opportunity for registering the sentiments of the masses on the vital issues of foreign and domestic policy. It is obvious that in these elections the progressive labor and people's movement must apply the tactics of the people's and democratic front. They must *at all costs* guarantee the defeat of every pro-Hitler, pro-Munich candidate or ticket. The progressive anti-fascist labor and people's movement must come forward with its own program; a program directed against Hitlerism abroad and reaction at home. It should determine its position toward all candidates and tickets on the basis of this program. Where possible, the progressive labor and people's movement should come forward with its own candidates and tickets, but always bearing in mind the essential need of defeating all pro-Hitler candidates and of obtaining a broad base and mass support for its own candidates or slates.

In most places, as for example in

New York City, it will not be possible to put forward full independent tickets, for the process of political realignment has not yet reached the point where such tickets will represent more than an advanced minority position. This means that side by side with the independent electoral activity of the labor and people's movement, our Party has the task of putting forward strong Party candidates and tickets in the elections.

The new situation provides new possibilities for registering a powerful vote for the Communist Party in the municipal elections this year. Even prior to the new situation, the influence of our Party and the response of the masses to Party candidates have been greater than ever. The best example of this is the vote that Comrade Helen Allison Winters received in the recent elections in Minneapolis. We can learn much from that election even though the slogans used in Minneapolis no longer meet the needs of the new world crisis. What are some of the lessons? First, we must put forward strong candidates, the best mass figures of our Party. Second, we must develop concrete election programs which link up the main local issues with the central slogans of our Party in respect to both foreign and domestic policy. This was done in Minneapolis, where our comrades related the specific questions confronting the people of that city with our position toward the war as such.

In this year's election we will be the only national party which will put emphasis on a domestic pro-

gram of struggle for democracy, and for maintaining and safeguarding the economic standards of the masses. *It is our job to make the struggle for a correct foreign policy inseparable from the struggle for a democratic and progressive domestic policy.*

The Building of the People's Movement

The new situation also requires on our part a broader approach to the question of rallying, uniting and organizing the masses of people in the fight against Hitlerism. First of all, in this respect, we must beware of the tendency among our comrades to think this is the time to settle old scores. Nothing would be more conducive toward disharmony and disunity; nothing would be more helpful to the friends of Hitler, than any inclination on our part to see the new situation as an opportunity to argue out all controversial questions of the past. Nor must we permit ourselves to be provoked by Social-Democratic leaders, by bourgeois liberals and by other opponents and enemies of our Party. While defending the past and present position of our Party, we must do so in such a fashion as to turn the attention of the masses to that which unites them as against that which divides them. Regardless of whether these masses understand or agree with the policies of the Soviet Union or of our Party, they do agree that Hitler fascism must be destroyed, they do want to work toward this end, and that is what must be the center of our discussion and activity. Our Party

must work in a modest fashion, in the style taught us by Comrade Browder, must not appear as if it were grinding its own axe, must always aim to bring about the greatest unity of the masses in the common struggle.

This means that while we must exercise great patience with those who agree with the need for the destruction of Hitlerism, we must also remember that considerable masses are still honestly confused, still take their orientation from the slogans of yesterday, and have not been able to draw the new conclusions from the new situation. This is especially true in respect to the mass movements with which we have cooperated and to which we have given our support in the past. These movements and their leaderships may not be able to reorientate themselves rapidly. It is our task, however, to continue to cooperate and help build these movements, for there is no doubt that in time all the forces involved in them will understand the needs arising from the new situation and will themselves help in building these movements around new slogans and new activities. It would be an unfortunate thing if because of delays and hesitations among certain individuals and groups we ceased to give the necessary cooperation and help in strengthening and building of such movements as the American Peace Mobilization, the American Youth Congress, the National Negro Congress, etc.

While continuing and increasing our support to these important movements, we must, however,

warn against a certain organizational fetishism which may creep up here and there within them. Once these movements clarify their own positions and policies, their main task is that of winning the support of *all* organizations of the people and first of all of labor for a correct position—for aid to the British and Soviet people and for an all-out fight against Hitler. This is task number one, regardless of whether these groups are ready to endorse or enter these organized movements as such.

We must remember that the antagonisms and suspicions of yesterday will not disappear overnight. This means that where masses or organizations agree with the common fight against Hitler but do not wish to enter any of the aforementioned movements, this cannot be placed as an obstacle to unity and struggle. The interests of the struggle require the most flexible and most varied approach to organizational forms. In the shops, in the trade unions, in the mass organizations of the people, in the neighborhoods, the masses should be encouraged to set up their own committees, their own groups and their own activities.

Furthermore, it is necessary to establish a positive, friendly and cooperative relationship with existing committees and organizations which aim to rally the people against Hitler. By such efforts it will be possible to organize parallel actions and at a later date joint actions, on a local, state and national scale.

It is likewise important to help

labor and the progressive forces adopt a positive approach to such movements as the Civilian Defense headed by Mayor La Guardia and to the United Service Organizations. The progressive forces should aim to cooperate with these movements and to help build and transform them into great popular mass organizations of the people devoted to national defense and to the struggle against Hitler.

The new world situation places added significance on the work among the foreign-born population and the national groups, especially among the masses whose homelands have been overridden by the armies of fascism. The Jewish people; the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Hungarians and Finns; the German and Italian masses; these are some of the most important national groups today. In our work among the national groups we must consciously eradicate every last vestige of sectarianism. Here especially we must eliminate any tendency to settle old scores and must work with the objective of creating national fronts of these peoples for the defeat of Hitler and for the freedom and independence of their lands of origin. The progressive forces among these groups must be ready to cooperate and work together with *every* and *all* opponents of Hitler, regardless of who they are and what their political program or belief. If this is done, it will not only be of great assistance for the building of the unity of the American

people, but will encourage the oppressed masses of Europe along the path of struggle for their liberation from the Hitler yoke,

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These are a few of the many problems confronting us in our work among the masses, in the struggle to unite the people for the destruction of Nazi fascism. The approach given here is a general one as no attempt has been made to exhaust the subject, to dot the i's and cross the t's. All that we have attempted to do is to broaden the outlook and perspectives of our entire Party. Only to the extent that we can help unify the masses, only to the extent that we can help build a great people's movement against Hitler, will there be a guarantee that Hitlerism will be defeated and that the American people will play their historic role in making this end possible.

We are still too close to the world-shaking event that has occurred to see all of its ramifications. One thing, however, is clear. The fate of mankind itself is at stake. Therefore we can do no less than to inspire the masses as well as our own membership with the need for an all-out effort. Our fight is not only one against Hitler and Hitler's friends in this country, it is also a fight against time. It is with this understanding and in this spirit that we must boldly face the new giant tasks thrust upon us by history.

THE NATIONAL GROUPS—A POWERFUL FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

BY ISRAEL AMTER

*(Based on a speech at the Plenary Meeting of the National Committee,
C.P.U.S.A., June 28-29, 1941.)*

THE attack of Hitler fascism on the Soviet Union has produced a new world situation. The Soviet Union—whose efforts for peace began with the very first day of the existence of the Soviet Government and which continued up to the last moment to fight for peace—was wantonly attacked by Hitler. His aim is to enslave the powerful Soviet people and exploit their land and its great resources for the continued prosecution of the war for world domination by German fascism.

Hitler's reputation for conducting a Blitzkrieg against one country after another has been shattered on the Soviet front. It has been shattered by the heroic struggle of the Red Army and of the Soviet people, which has aroused general sympathy and admiration in all parts of the world for the Soviet Union. The people hate and fear fascism. They know what it has meant, not only to the German people, but to every country that has fallen under its iron heel. As degraded as the conditions were in countries ruled

by fascist dictators before the war, as in Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, etc., the conquest of these countries by Hitler and the imposition of his rule over their populations have intensified the hatred for Hitlerism. This hatred is boiling over and is resulting in many manifestations and demonstrations against the bloody rule of Hitler. These manifestations have reached their highest point as yet in the armed struggle of the Rumanians in the vicinity of Jassy, lasting for more than three days.

Those in the United States whose countries of origin have been conquered and subjugated by Hitler want to help liberate them from the iron heel of Hitlerism. This is true not only of the foreign-born—that is, immigrants from Europe to the U.S.—but also of large sections born in the United States. A deep community spirit has made them conscious of the need of helping the countries from which their parents came and in the building of which their ancestors played a glorious role. These same people, face to

face with the wanton attack of Hitler on the Soviet Union, almost spontaneously evinced a profound love for the Soviet Union. In spite of the lies about, and misrepresentations of, the Soviet Union these people know at least one thing—that there are security and equality for all nations, national minorities and groups in the land of socialism. The openly expressed love for the Soviet Union and hatred of Hitlerism on the part of large sections of the national groups in the United States are a source of power that can help swing our country into intensive aid for, and support of, the Soviet Union, in order to bring about the complete defeat and destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism.

The Role of the National Groups

The national groups are an integral part of the American nation. In giving vigorous expression, in the present world situation, to the demand for effective aid to the countries fighting against fascist aggression, the national groups have shown an understanding that the Nazi war for world domination is a menace to the vital interests of our nation. They have demonstrated in action their determination to destroy Hitlerism. This is evidenced in the steps taken among certain of these national groups to organize recruitment for an expeditionary force on the Western Front, in the collection of funds for the Soviet Union and for Britain, and other actions of solidarity.

Among the national groups first to respond were the Jews, Poles, Croatians, Serbians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Czechoslovaks. These are

national groups emanating from countries pillaged by Hitler.

Next come the relatively small groups in the U.S.: the Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Bessarabians, Ukrainians and Russians.

Then there is the group of the Germans, Italians and Hungarians, whose countries of origin are the Axis powers. Within these groups there are mixed feelings and attitudes, and this is aggravated by the attitude of indiscriminate suspicion fostered by some elements in the Federal Government and among the employers.

As to the Finns—in 1940 they were greatly confused by the lies that poured out of the capitalist press and even the State Department in regard to the Soviet-Finnish war. But with Mannerheim and Ryti lining up with the fascist powers, the confusion that existed will certainly lift.

The Irish-Americans are traditionally anti-British, owing to the age-long oppression of Ireland by British imperialism. Moreover, they are in the main Roman Catholic and are to a considerable degree influenced by the anti-Soviet position of the Catholic hierarchy. But they have no love for Hitlerism. And the recent statements of leading Irish-American dignitaries of the Catholic Church, as well as the declaration of the Catholic bishops in Germany, will facilitate the winning of this important group in the United States for a policy of effective resistance to Hitler.

A sharp differentiation is taking place in the United States. This also affects the national groups. There are those in the country generally

—and these are the majority—who wish to give aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and all other peoples that are fighting Hitler. And there are the others—the pro-fascists and appeasers, who play the Hitler game and urge a “negotiated peace,” naturally on Hitler’s terms. The hand of these pro-fascists is exposed in the statement of Lindbergh, openly calling for collaboration with the fascist monster Hitler against the U.S.S.R.

The same line is being followed by the reactionary and fascist-minded leaders among the national groups. But among some of them the pro-fascists face greater difficulties. In the experience of the small nations of Europe subjugated by Hitler, the respective national groups have a vivid lesson of the meaning of a Hitler victory for these subjugated peoples and for the entire world. They see that the Soviet Union is the most consistent, relentless and determined fighter against Hitler fascism—that Stalin has aroused the 200,000,000 people of the Soviet Union at the front and the rear and united them in one army to fight fascism to the death. Hence the masses of the national groups and many of their national and local leaders have come out for support of the Soviet Union. The pro-fascists in many instances have to cover up their line and activity with ostensibly anti-fascist slogans. But these slogans become meaningless in face of action. These elements must be exposed, defeated and isolated, in order that the national groups may be welded into a solid community to aid the Soviet Union and all foes of fascism.

The pro-fascist “America First Committee” is making special efforts to win the support of the German, Irish and Italian-American workers and middle class elements. We must emphasize here that the Lindbergh pro-fascists are most active among these national groups, and may gain support among them. Associated with the “America First Committee” on its platform is Norman Thomas. Thomas pretends to be an isolationist and offers only one “solution” in the present situation, namely, the “establishment of the socialist commonwealth.” He is bitterly anti-Soviet and considers a Hitler victory preferable. He is a welcome aid to the pro-fascists of the United States, striving to lead the anti-fascist workers, especially of the national groups, against aid to the Soviet Union on his false, so-called “revolutionary,” slogan of the “socialist commonwealth.” The “America First Committee” plus Norman Thomas are the *real fifth column*. It is especially important to expose and defeat their treacherous, pro-fascist schemes among the national groups.

Then there are the Social-Democrats of many stripes. There is Louis Waldman, who calls for counter-revolutionary conditions as the price of any aid to be sent to the Soviet Union. This means playing into the hands of Hitler and aims to disrupt the struggle against fascism. These people must be exposed and isolated as not representing the sentiment of the rank and file, of local leaders and even some top leaders of the Social-Democrats among the national groups.

The struggle against all pro-fas-

cists, against those who propose conditions for aid to the Soviet Union, and who line up with the reactionaries of the United States also on domestic problems, is the main struggle today. Work among the workers, farmers and the middle classes will isolate and defeat them.

*For a Broad, Independent
Mass Movement*

The task of progressive leadership today is to build the *broadest movements* among the whole population and particularly the national groups. There are complex problems within each national group. It is necessary, without losing a moment's time, to reach the organizations, trade unions, groups and leaders within these masses, to procure statements and resolutions in the shops, trade unions and working class mass organizations. With their aid, *within each (individual) national group on a local scale*, an *independent mass movement* should be built.

Why *each individual group*? Because within the national groups there are complicated problems that must be handled directly, and which otherwise might easily arouse friction that would prevent the building of a real mass movement. Thus, there has been friction between the Serb-Americans and the Croatian-Americans, which developed as a result of the prolonged struggle for Croatian autonomy in Yugoslavia and which was denied them by the dominant Serbs.

Why build these movements on a *local scale*? Because there are the various groupings and leaders that must positively be won over to the

greatest extent possible if a real mass movement is to be built. While striving to win the cooperation of these leaders, the main effort should be focused on building down below, among the masses. For these masses are the real bearers of the anti-fascist spirit. Only after the mass movement really has been established should we look forward to conferences and meetings on a regional or national scale.

Why an *independent mass movement*? The pronouncements of Churchill and Roosevelt have had a profound effect upon the peoples of the whole world. The national groups in the United States might be affected by these pronouncements in such a way as to fail to exert their influence to bring about *deeds* in realization of these pronouncements. *Only independent mass movements can exert pressure upon, and force the government to provide the unlimited aid that is necessary, in the interests of the people of the United States, to the Soviet Union, Britain and all peoples fighting fascism.* Only thus can we win the fight against fascism and bring about the liberation of the countries conquered by Hitler. *An independent mass movement is the only assurance that this will be achieved.*

We must not pose the question of defense of socialism as the issue. If this is made the issue, then many leaders, groups and organizations that are still politically immature, which do not see eye to eye with everything in the Soviet Union and are not ready to accept socialism, will remain outside of the mass movement that must be built.

On the other hand, the slogan of the struggle against fascism, for complete annihilation of fascism and liberation of the conquered countries, can involve the largest number of groups and organizations that are ready to pitch in with all their resources to fight against Hitlerism.

The workers are the backbone in the struggle against fascism. Excepting some of these groups, the workers within the national groups—of which they form the overwhelming majority—are employed in basic industry. Many of the trade unions of this country are made up chiefly of members of the national groups. Organized labor knows what fascism means. It knows of the experiences in Germany, Italy, France, etc., where the independent trade unions have been outlawed, and fascist “labor fronts” and so-called “syndicates” have taken their place. They know of the fate of honest trade union leaders, who have refused to sell out to fascism and have been given the penalty of death or concentration camps. Hence the workers in the shops, mills and trade unions, as well as the national groups in the other proletarian mass organizations, form the backbone of the genuine struggle against fascism. These workers, who are honestly anti-fascist, will be the means, not only of building a real mass movement, but of a mass movement that cannot be diverted from the struggle against fascism, from the struggle for democracy at home and to free the world from the menace of Hitlerist domination.

A specific approach is required to each individual group. Work among

the Jewish workers can be on the broadest scale possible, since the Jewish workers and middle classes, whose relatives and friends in Europe have suffered horribly from the ravages of Hitlerism, not only want to fight fascism but realize the great significance of the Soviet Union for the Jewish people. Here the boldest initiative must be undertaken.

Work among the Yugoslav Americans, who are workers in basic industry, among the Bulgarians, Greeks, Czechoslovaks and Poles, on the basis of the struggle against Hitler and for the destruction of the barbaric rule of fascism, can be undertaken with prospects of immediate results.

Work among the Lithuanians, Esthonians, Letts, Bessarabians, North Bukovinians, Ukrainians and Russians, because their countries of origin have enjoyed the blessings of socialism, even if for a short time in the case of some of them, already has shown that results can be obtained in the building of a mass movement, where initiative has been displayed.

Work among the Germans, Italians and Hungarians will require more patient activity. We should not minimize the work of the fascist agents and the effect of fascist propaganda, but neither should we underestimate the possibility of influencing these groups against Hitlerism.

The German-Americans are largely anti-fascist. They are not only terrorized in the United States and oftentimes subjected to suspicion of being spies and agents of Hitler fascism, but they are also terrorized

by Gestapo agents in the United States who force them, under penalty of their relatives in Germany being sent to concentration camps or death, into cooperation with Hitler fascism. Some of the open Gestapo agents have already been apprehended. But undoubtedly there are many agents of this sort who are working under cover and spreading their propaganda to intimidate the German-Americans. We must work among the German workers who can be the real backbone of an independent mass movement among this group.

The Italian-Americans also confront us with a special problem. The Italians in the United States come, in the main, from Southern Italy. They are chiefly of peasant stock and suffered tribulation at the hands of the Italian government and landlords. They have seen their country involved in many wars since the last world war. The attitude of the Italian people toward the Soviet Union has always been one of friendliness. They have been dragged from one crisis to another, from hunger to starvation, and their country dragged into wars which gained nothing for them but death and desolation. They have seen the contrast of the Soviet Union. They have seen the people of that country, 200,000,000 strong, fighting for peace, while Mussolini lusted for war. Their great national hero is Garibaldi, who fought for liberty in many countries of the world. But now they see Hitler taking control of Italy, not even trusting his partner Mussolini. Two hundred and fifty thousand Nazi troops are forcing the Italian people to march

according to the dictates of Hitler.

If we work patiently among the Italians, and aid them in the struggle against the many forms of discrimination and persecution against them in the United States, we can win this most important national group which can be found in all basic and key industries in the United States, for a people's front against fascism.

The Hungarian-American workers are in the main pro-democratic and anti-fascist. Like most of the national groups, they have been staunch supporters of Roosevelt. Therefore, although it is important for each national group that the mass movement should be of an independent character, this must be particularly emphasized as far as Hungarian-American workers are concerned.

We have already dealt with the national groups emanating from the liberated states and territories. One other group, important in many industries in the country, is the Spanish-speaking people. As a result of the struggle of democratic Spain against Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, there is the deepest anti-fascist sentiment among the Spanish-speaking Americans. Our task is to turn that sentiment into movement, to aid in the real liberation of Spain, and to assist the people of Latin America in their struggle for democratic rights and national independence.

Thus our immediate task, without allowing a moment's delay, is to build the broadest independent anti-fascist mass movements on a local scale based on the workers, to exert the maximum pressure upon

the Roosevelt Government that it fulfil in deeds as quickly as possible the promises of aid to the Soviet Union and all peoples fighting against fascism.

With the united front of the workers as the driving force, and as the real, reliable element in the struggle against fascism, a broad people's movement must be built, embracing the workers, farmers and middle class and other elements in the population sincerely and honestly willing to fight against fascism. Building this independent mass movement down below among the people, the assurance is given that these masses will not readily be swayed from their course.

Beware of Sectarianism

While striving to develop the greatest initiative among the masses, we must not hesitate to seek the cooperation of leaders who perhaps only a short time ago denounced us, lied about us and distorted every bit of news that came from the Soviet Union. Let us look at the situation among the Jews, for instance. Up until two weeks ago, the Social-Democratic and other reactionary Jewish newspapers hurled invectives at the Soviet Union. They used the term "Communazi" to insinuate that not only were Communism and fascism identical, but that Stalin had entered into a military alliance with Hitler. Today these falsehoods are completely exploded. The Jewish workers who had been misled by the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the *Day* and the *Morning Journal* almost immediately took their stand with the Soviet Union against Hitler

fascism. Large sections of the shopkeepers and professionals did likewise. Undoubtedly Abe Cahan, editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, had to swallow hard, when he called for support of the Soviet Union. He did not do so out of love for the Soviet Union, but because he knew the Jewish workers would throw his paper into the gutter if he did not take a stand in favor of the Soviet Union. Every honest Jewish worker detests Cahan. But if Cahan takes a stand for aid to the countries fighting Hitler's military hordes, the Jewish progressives must know how to take advantage of this to unite the Jewish people in a mass movement to support the Soviet Union and Britain against Hitler.

We must work in the shops and unions led by Jewish Social-Democrats of the Dubinsky-Zimmerman mold, who have spewed forth their hatred of the Soviet Union. Even after the attack of Hitler on the Soviet Union, they had the impudence to attack the Soviet Union. But the rank and file and many local leaders in the shops and unions stand by the Soviet Union. Dubinsky and Zimmerman and their puny cliques will not be able to stand up against the masses, provided active work is carried on down below among the workers for full aid to the Soviet Union, Britain and all others fighting fascism.

As a result of the occupation of Poland by Hitler, deep hatred against Hitler fascism fills the hearts of the Polish-Americans. They were confused as to the significance of the liberation of the West Ukraine and White Russia from

Poland and were led by pro-fascist leaders into channels of hatred of the Soviet Union. Now, with Hitler's attack upon the Soviet Union, there is a decided change in sentiment. This opens up new avenues of work among the Polish workers, to go directly among the masses. But we must also approach their leaders, including General Sikorski's lieutenants wherever they may be, and through them influence their followers, while at the same time, and above all, working among the rank and file in the trade unions and mass organizations.

The Czechoslovaks were among the first to declare their position in the present situation. They remember well the statement of Benes that the Soviet Union was prepared to extend armed assistance against the rape of Czechoslovakia by Hitler. Because of the love of the Czechoslovakian masses at home and in this country for the Soviet Union, Benes and the other leaders of the Czech and the Slovak Alliance have come out openly in favor of the Soviet Union. The same may be said of the Croatians, Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians, etc. In each case we must show the greatest boldness among the masses and among the leaders, and as quickly as possible build the independent mass movement among the workers through the united front and around it the broad people's movement.

A large part of the national groups are Catholics. The Catholic Church is not united on the question of this war. The pro-fascists in this country and elsewhere had looked forward to sharp condemnation by the Pope of the Soviet Union and a

slap on the hand of Hitler. But the pro-fascists have procured little consolation for their hopes. Pro-fascist priests in the United States, like Coughlin and Curran, however, carry on the most shameless attacks against the Soviet Union. But leading Catholic spokesmen and dignitaries of the church, while condemning socialism, at the same time have called for support of the Soviet Union in the war against Hitler. Bishop Joseph P. Hurley of Florida, speaking of those who have taken a pro-fascist position, declared:

"Among them is a small but noisy group of Catholics. We have suffered long from their tantrums. . . . They will disappear in time like those other exhibitionists—the Marathon dancers, and the flag-pole sitters who amused America for a while and vanished." (*N. Y. Tribune*, July 6.)

The Bishop referred to Nazi sympathizers who were trying to picture the Russo-German war as a "holy crusade against communism." The bald facts, the Bishop declared, are that Germany,

". . . in violation of a treaty launched an unprovoked and undeclared war of aggression against the Communists. . . . The recluse of Berchtesgaden is badly cast for the role of Peter the Hermit. . . . The Nazi remains Enemy No. 1 of America and of the world."

Thus the possibility of work among the national groups, also as members of the Catholic Church, and the bringing of the Catholic workers into the broad independent mass movement can be facilitated.

In the struggle against fascism are involved also the living standards, civil rights and social conditions of the people. The attacks of the reactionaries in Congress and of the big corporations affect not only the workers but also the farmers and the middle classes. Special forms of discrimination and persecution are being used against the national groups. German-Americans and Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans and Spanish-speaking workers are being discriminated against in the war industries, just as are the Negroes and Jews. They are held under suspicion of being disloyal and accused of sedition. They face the danger of concentration camps. Since the national groups are made up to a large degree of workers, the winning of these workers who are members of the national groups is facilitated and gives greater guarantees that the mass movement will retain its independence, since Roosevelt himself has either tolerated or sponsored legislation or activities against the foreign-born. We must point out that the national group masses are ready to make sacrifices in the struggle against Hitler fascism. But their economic standards and civil rights must be safeguarded and extended. They have been and are the chief sufferers from the reactionary measures adopted against labor and the foreign-born during the past period. The attacks upon the non-citizens and the foreign-born must cease. Anti-Semitism must be outlawed as a crime, as must Jim-Crowism against the Negro people.

The reactionary measures against the national group masses only serve

the friends of Hitler in the United States. They strengthen the hand of the reactionary Hoovers, Lindberghs, Wheelers, Coughlins and the whole America First outfit.

The situation is alive with excellent prospects. The national group masses are in motion. Therefore the boldest initiative on the part of the progressives is imperative. Time dare not be lost. Days, hours count. If the independent mass movements are not created without delay, the masses will remain without leaders—or pro-fascist leaders, using anti-fascist slogans, may take them in tow into channels that will be to the detriment and weakening of the anti-fascist mass movement.

Two dangers, therefore, confront us. First, *sectarianism*. We will commit the most serious sectarian mistake if we base our line among the national groups today on the issue of the defense of socialism, or if we restrict our activities to the narrow circle of organizations already among the progressive forces. The national groups under progressive influence have stable organizations and institutions, many decades old. This is not only a source of strength for the progressives. It is also a deep source of sectarianism, of devastating routine. With the old methods and approaches, these organizations will not utilize the great opportunity of uniting the broadest masses in a people's movement against fascism. We must help them take the initiative to surmount the old animosities, hates, conflicts and obstacles that in the past separated them from the rest of the masses, their organizations and leaders in the national group field.

The second danger that confronts us is that we may fail to develop the movement on an *independent* basis, so that instead of representing mass pressure on Roosevelt for an effective policy, the mass movements may merely become a tail to the bourgeoisie. The leadership of labor in these movements is the first prerequisite for safeguarding against this. These movements in the interests of the genuine struggle against fascism can be built only if in the course of their development they formulate clearly a program of struggle, even though it be on a *minimum* basis, and energetically activate the masses in the struggle. As the struggle develops, the slogans will change, the masses will be educated and will follow the new slogans reaching a higher plane.

We must avoid both dangers, but above all we must avoid sectarianism. The broadest masses of the national groups are seeking leadership and a program. Only the progressives can furnish that program and leadership and build a real anti-fascist movement for struggle.

This requires a complete reorientation of our work, the activation of every single person, the reaching of the national group masses in the shops, factories and mass organizations, with boldest initiative, especially toward leaders of the masses. Above all, it demands speed.

A Major Task

National group work must immediately be placed on a new basis to correspond to the new world situation. It must now be placed in the forefront of our work and treated

as a major phase of our mass activities and daily responsibility. This means the assignment of competent and responsible forces by the district organizations to lead the work (setting up operative district national group commissions), overhauling and strengthening the leadership in the most important national groups (drawing in for this purpose American-born forces from the general work), assuring the immediate reorientation of the progressive organizations to the new situation, boldly building the national group press, especially among the trade union masses, so that the proletarian basis of the national group movement is strengthened, and, above all, proceeding without delay to initiate the broadest mass people's movement in the struggle to liberate their countries of origin from fascist enslavement, for aid to the Soviet Union and Britain as part of the defense of the United States.

1. To this end, statements and resolutions of organizations and leaders should be secured within the national groups as a starting point for the anti-fascist mass movement. Appeals should be issued by the respective Party organizations, with special attention to the peculiarities and needs of each national group, and elaborating the broader problems involved in the war.

Mass meetings on a local and city scale, hundreds of house meetings and forums under all possible auspices should be organized. Speakers should be prepared and sent immediately to meetings of clubs, fraternal and other national group organizations. Time should be secured on language radio hours. Leaflets

and popular pamphlets should be issued. *The Soviet Power* should be published, either in full or abridged form, in all possible languages. Letters should be sent to the broader nationalist and bourgeois national group press, to develop public discussion on the new situation and through this press to reach the widest national group masses. The most immediate developments are possible among Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechoslovaks, Greeks and Jews.

Special attention should be given to the national groups originating in countries that are waging war against the Soviet Union—Germans, Italians, Hungarians, Finns, and Rumanians. Careful study of the concrete approach necessary to these groups in order to combat the influence of the appeasement and America First fascist forces.

Effective attention must be devoted to the national groups whose countries of origin are within the Soviet Union, especially the recently liberated countries. Here it is especially important to combat all efforts to use the reactionary forces of "governments-in-exile" of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania as sources of strength for the pro-fascists.

2. Particular attention must be paid to the progressive national group press. The press is the most powerful instrument, and to use it wisely and effectively is of the greatest moment. The progressive national group press reaches more people than the progressive English daily press. This indicates the possibility of greatly increasing the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and the *Sunday Worker* manifold. But at the same time, the states, sections

and branches should immediately take up the question of raising the circulation of the progressive language press many times over. Organize immediately circulation drives for the respective national group press, especially Jewish, Polish and Italian, but also among the peoples from all the Nazi-occupied countries, particularly among the trade union masses who in the recent strike struggles welcomed the aid of these papers.

3. An immediate campaign for recruiting new members into our Party from the national groups should be inaugurated, both through shops and unions and national group organizations in the communities.

4. The demand among the national groups for the release of Comrade Browder will meet with immediate response, since Browder is the best fighter against fascism and for the rights of the people.

5. In the coming municipal elections, we must not lose sight of the particularly strong anti-fascist sentiments prevailing among the national groups. In formulating our policy in the various localities, however, we should remember that at this time the most important objective is the defeat of the pro-Hitler forces.

6. There must be a complete re-orientation in national group work in the whole Party organization in order to achieve our aim. To accomplish this we must: (a) Re-establish or strengthen without delay the Party national bureaus for German, Italian, Polish, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav and Greek work. (b) Extend all possible help to the progressive Italian, Hungarian and

Czechoslovak newspapers. (c) On a state and local scale, Party committees should immediately examine the activities of our comrades in progressive mass and fraternal organizations, to assure an effective reorientation in policy and work.

(d) The State Committees, especially of the concentration districts, should assume direct responsibility for regular guidance of the national bureaus and commissions of the national groups which are centered in their districts.

7. The State Committees in those states where progressive language papers are published should be directly responsible to the Central Bureau of the National Committee for the guidance of the work of our comrades connected with these papers, both as to political content and circulation. This means Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago. The Minnesota district should assume responsibility in connection with our comrades on the Finnish paper; the Cleveland district should aid our comrades in strengthening the Slovenian progressive movement and press.

8. We must intensify the struggle against anti-Semitism among the national groups.

9. We must carry through the line of placing the main responsibility for the development of national group work on the Party as a whole, its districts, sections and branches working in national group areas, and not leave the work exclusively to weak and small, and occasional, language branches.

10. To accomplish these tasks, the State Committees, especially in the concentration districts, must discuss the national group work in its present light and adopt a concrete plan of work to be carried out among all the national groups, and particularly those groups most important in the respective district; assign a member, or a group of members, of the State Committee to be responsible to the State Committee for national group work; immediately release capable, politically developed forces, especially the American-born among the national groups, for this work. We are here dealing with the most complicated problem of mass politics and mass movements. Hence competent, qualified forces of leading caliber must be made available. Failure to do so will seriously hamper the movement.

We face the task of building a mighty mass anti-fascist movement, educating and influencing it toward the realization of the highest obligation that we have at this moment, namely, effective aid to the Soviet Union and all countries grappling with the military forces of Hitler and his allies, as indispensable to the defense of our own country. We have learned well from Comrade Browder and the National Committee of our Party. Therefore we can be sure that our Party will perform its Bolshevik role, rally the people of our country in its defense, for the destruction of Hitler and Hitlerism throughout the world.

THE RED ARMY—SPEARHEAD OF HUMANITY

BY V. J. JEROME

“This war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German fascist forces.

“The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

“In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots.” (Joseph Stalin, from his radio address of July 3, 1941.)

THE destiny of the world is being fought out on the greatest battle front in history, from the Arctic to the Black Sea. Millions of men and tens of thousands of tanks and air machines are factors in that war. Guarding the approaches to Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev, around Lake Peipus, at the Smolensk Gate, along the Pruth,

Dniester and Dnieper Rivers—the armed forces of the Soviet Union meet the Nazi enemy of mankind on the decisive battle front of the world's conflict with fascism. Unity, full unity of the working class and the nation—action to aid that Eastern Front, to strengthen and extend the Western Front of the British people, to smash at Hitler on all

fronts—that is America's defense today.

Around the fascist aggressor rally all the agencies of retrogression and barbarity, all the prototypes, Quislings and Fifth-Columnists everywhere. In our own country, the Lindbergh - Hoover - Hearst cabal seeks to bring the American people under a Hitlerite dictatorship and to impress the Americas into the fascist "New World Order."

The peoples and nations are gathering against mankind's worst foe. The British Government has signed a historic war compact with the Soviet Union. Our own Government has increased aid to Britain, has pledged aid to the Soviet Union and has intensified anti-Nazi measures. The British and American masses are pressing for fuller and faster aid to the Eastern Front, for opening up an all-sided offensive on the Western Front. Instinctively they rally in solidarity with the self-sacrificing fight of the Red Army. In the lands enslaved by fascism, the masses, speaking every tongue but bound by one cause, are developing a campaign of sabotage and guerrilla activities to disrupt Hitler's communications, blow up his trains, munition dumps, oil reserves, and bridges. Anti-Hitler strikes are waged in France, Holland, Belgium and Norway.

"Our war for the freedom of our country," Stalin declared in his July 3 radio address, "will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties.

"It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and

against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies."

Humanity faces its Gettysburg. America's national integrity was more endangered when Hitler's army crossed the Soviet border than at any time since our Civil War. To annihilate Nazism, mighty blows must be delivered from West and East, from all sides, faster and faster, with ever-increasing trip-hammer force.

The Red Army has achieved the miracle which the military experts of Europe and America declared impossible: it has withstood and stopped the Nazi super-Blitzkrieg, the mightiest military offensive ever launched. It has given hope and courage to the people of the world by its bravery, morale and magnificent fighting ability. The Soviet Army and people know that the war will be long and hard; they do not underestimate Hitler's military machine. They resolutely prepare to withstand fascism's heaviest blows, as shock troops for the peoples of the world.

How and why has the Red Army achieved such a miracle against the Nazi military might which smashed the vaunted French army and drove the British Expeditionary Force into the sea at Dunkirk? What is this mighty Soviet spearhead of the people's struggle to crush fascism? What is the Red Army?

* * *

Ninety-six years ago, Frederick Engels, speaking of the future Socialist society, stated:

"In case of war . . . the member of such a society will have a *real* fatherland, a *real* home to defend, and therefore he will fight with an enthusiasm, perseverance and courage before which the mechanical training of any modern army must scatter like chaff. Think of the marvelous deeds accomplished by the enthusiasm of the revolutionary armies in the period from 1792 to 1799, which after all fought only for an *illusion*, for the *semblance* of a fatherland, and you will come to realize how powerful must be an army which fights, not for an illusion, but for a tangible reality." *

This prediction arose from the newly formulated Marxian conception of historical development and of the role of wars in history. The Communist critique of the basic antagonisms of bourgeois society revealed its State to be an expression of minority owning-class domination, and its army a coercive force of that State.

Engels wrote following the armed rising of the Parisian proletariat in June, 1848:

"The emancipation of the proletariat will also have its own military expression; it will produce a new and special method of warfare. *Cela est clair*.** It is even possible to determine beforehand the nature of the material bases of this new method of warfare." ***

These words were directed at the

bourgeois-democrats of that time and their "purely military" program "against the princes" which disregarded actual property and class relations. Marxism thus laid down the principle that the character of armies and of their methods of warfare depends on the economic basis of a given country and on the nature of its State. Engels saw that the enhanced "mass character and mobility of the armies" under Socialism, the new and special methods of warfare, would be realized upon heightened material bases.

The Red Army has fulfilled that prediction. It is the armed expression of the first Socialist system: a military organization unique in human history. It is the army of the sovereign laboring people, the citizens of Socialism, whose defense of their native land is the front line of the peoples' struggle against the fascist violator of world peace.

Soviet society today contains no antagonistic classes. The Soviet Government is the government of, by, and for the people. Under the Stalin Constitution, the Soviet people enjoy the greatest and fullest democracy ever known. Exploitation of man by man has been eliminated. The Soviet workers and peasants have built and own their Socialist industry and agriculture—the mighty economic foundations of a higher order of society. The free Soviet workers, collective farmers, and intellectuals—Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Uzbeks, Moldavians; the scores of nations of the Soviet family—live and work in fraternal Socialist collaboration. For the first time in the history of civil-

* Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, German edition, Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 376.

** That is clear—Editor.

*** Engels-Lenin, *Military-Political Writings*, in German, Berlin, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 33-34.

ization a people is welded by moral and political unity. Therein is rooted the patriotism of a new strength. Therein lies the indestructible power of the Red Army—flesh and blood of the people. Of that army and that people Stalin told the world in March, 1939:

"In case of war, the rear and front of our army, by reason of their homogeneity and inherent unity, will be stronger than those of any other country, a fact which people beyond our borders who love military conflicts would do well to remember."

Born in the struggle for peace, bread and freedom; founded on the principles of proletarian internationalism; and towering from the bed-rock of Socialist economy, the Soviet Union has been the consistent, unfaltering champion of world peace.

On June 22, Foreign Minister Molotov, declaring the state policy of the Soviet Government, expressed the deepest sympathy for the tortured German people and for all whom fascism oppresses:

"This war has been forced upon us, not by the German people, not by the German workers, peasants and intellectuals, whose sufferings we well understand, but by the clique of bloodthirsty fascist rulers of Germany who have enslaved Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Serbians, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece and other nations."

By the very nature of the Socialist State, its army is an anti-militarist force, imbued with the spirit of internationalism—a force, not for

aggression or enslavement, but for peace and freedom.

* * *

The Red Army was born in resistance to the German imperialist invasion of the young Soviet land, in answer to the slogan of the Government and the Bolshevik Party: "The Socialist Fatherland is in danger!" Profoundly symbolic for our times, the Red Army was officially proclaimed on February 23, 1918—the day its young detachments repulsed the German imperial army's offensive against Petrograd, at Narva and Pskov.

During the Civil War of 1918-20 the Red Army was poorly clad, hungry, and armed with inferior weapons; but it achieved historic victories over the Russian White-Guardists and the foreign interventionists, despite their vast superiority in arms and equipment, their experienced military cadres, and their occupation of the country's richest regions. Like Washington's Valley Forge heroes and the Army of the Potomac in our Revolutionary Wars, the Red Army, confronting higher historical tasks, fought, with supreme loyalty to the people and with their support, against tyranny and slavery.

In those critical years when New Russia was ravaged by famine and destruction arising out of the First World War, Stalin worked closely with Lenin, solving the main military problems confronting the Soviet people. Lenin and Stalin guided the Party in cherishing the Red Army, in sending the staunchest comrades into its ranks, and in

vigorously organizing the rear—the Army's material and moral base.

In the heat of historic battles on far-flung fronts, Lenin and Stalin built and developed the young Red Army, sweeping aside the anti-Leninist policies of Trotsky to negate the Bolshevik Party in the Red Army, to prevent the rise of military leaders from the ranks, and to put excessive reliance in bourgeois military specialists.

On Lenin's recommendation, the Party Central Committee sent Stalin to the decisive fronts of action throughout those years.

Combining superbly the talents of political leader and military strategist, Stalin conceived and directed the strategic and tactical plans of the crucial Battle of Tsaritsin, the defense of Petrograd, the Battle of Perm, and the Battle of the Ukraine, which resulted in the rout of Denikin, Yudenitch, Kolchak, Wrangel, and the interventionists.* He was the model of the Red Army military commissar, whom he strikingly characterized as "the father and soul of his regiment."

Today, when the Soviet Government has again decreed that military commissars shall fight with the Red Army and Red Navy, Stalin, People's Commissar of Defense, inspires them to deeds in the glorious tradition of 1918-20.

* * *

Twenty-three years ago, in discussing the lessons of the First World War, Lenin wrote:

* For a classic analysis of the significance of these battles and of Stalin's role during the civil war, the reader is referred to Chapter VIII of *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, International Publishers, New York.

"The war has taught many things, not only that people have suffered, but also that that side comes off best which has the greater technical equipment, organization, discipline and the best machinery. . . . The lesson to be drawn is that without machinery, without discipline, life in modern society is impossible—either master first-class technique or be crushed."*

The Soviet Union, the most peace-loving country in the world, was compelled to build up the Red Army, a modern, highly mechanized, mass military force—"or be crushed"!

The Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin's great colleague, Joseph Stalin, advanced the Leninist practice and teachings to new heights under the conditions of Socialist construction. Lenin had declared that Russia could and must become a land of strong and highly technical industry, a land of basic metallurgy, machinery production and electric power. Pundits of the capitalist world and the Trotskyite and Bukharinite defeatists declared that Russia could not be industrialized out of her own efforts and inner resources. But the general line of Lenin and Stalin was confirmed in struggle and life. In 1929, when the First Five-Year Plan got under way, the sceptics and enemies were raucous in their mockery. The counter-revolutionary Trotsky-Bukharin gang, in the service of German fascism, conspired, sabotaged and murdered in the attempt to impede the onward sweep of So-

* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII, p. 406, Russian edition.

cialism. But their criminal destructiveness could not halt the Bolshevik tempo of Socialist construction.

In February, 1931, in his famous address to the First All-Union Conference of Managers of Soviet Industry, Stalin emphasized:

"It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down a bit in *tempo*, to retard the movement. No, comrades, this is impossible! It is impossible to reduce the *tempo*! On the contrary, it is necessary as far as possible to accelerate it. This necessity is dictated by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world. To slacken the *tempo* means to fall behind. And the backward are always beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we do not want this! . . .

"We are fifty to one hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must cover this distance in ten years. Either we do this or they will crush us."*

The First of the Five-Year Plans was completed in four years, and the Second and Third followed to make the Soviet Union a highly industrialized country.

The phenomenal tempo of the Socialist industrialization transformed the U.S.S.R. from a backward agricultural land into the first-ranking country of Europe in industrial production.

This Soviet industrial development made possible an adequate rise in the defense budget, together with a steady, continuous increase

in workers' wages, collective farmers' incomes, and appropriations devoted to education, health, science and culture.

Earl Browder, now isolated in Atlanta Penitentiary and kept from contributing his superb leadership to the anti-fascist forces, emphasized the significance of these achievements.

"The Soviet Union was able to multiply its national income tenfold during the past twelve years, and to raise the living standards of the masses by 500 per cent, while providing all necessary defense measures, with armed enemies all around on every border."*

The Soviet Union today is a first-class modern power with all the elements for defense: technique, electrical power, machinery, steel, minerals, chemicals, fuel and food.

In the Stalinist struggle to create that mighty industrial base, and its agricultural complement, the Soviet Union created the greatest capital of all—the new Soviet man: the 31,000,000 industrial workers and office employees, the 20,000,000 collective farm families, the 10,000,000 Socialist intellectuals.

In vital war materials—coal, iron ore, oil, aluminum, chromite, manganese, copper, nickel, cotton, etc., the Soviet Union is well supplied. Insofar as basic foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials, on her 240,000 collective farms and numerous state farms, which operate 500,000 tractors and the most modern methods and machinery, the Soviet Union has solved those problems

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, International Publishers, Vol. II, pp. 365-66.

* Earl Browder, *The Way Out*, International Publishers, 1941, p. 49.

which give nightmares to fascism. Industrial and agricultural bases, power plants and railroads in the Far Eastern regions, the Urals, and on the Upper Volga, not only provided the material prerequisites for raising the former backward nations to equality with the rest of the Soviet Union, but gave the country powerful defense foci in all her strategic-geographic centers.

Six years ago, General Guderian, present chief of the Hitler Tank Corps, declared:

"10,000 tanks, 150,000 tractors and over 100,000 other military motor-transport vehicles place the Red Army at the head of all other armies." *

While the pro-fascist Lindbergh was playing Chamberlain's Munich game by spreading lies about the Soviet armed forces, the British military expert Liddell Hart, in his *Europe in Arms* (1937), had written:

"The Soviet Russian Air Force is the strongest in Europe at the moment."

In March, 1939, Marshal Voroshilov reported to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ** that the Red Army had "during the past five years . . . undergone considerable . . . in part radical change as regards organization, armament, technical equipment and fighting efficiency." He cited the following facts: In man-

power the Red Army has been increased by 203 per cent. The aggregate fire power of a Red Army rifle corps of 60,000 men was 78,932 kilograms of steel and lead per minute, compared to 59,509 kilograms and 60,981 kilograms per minute of the German and French rifle corps respectively.

Although the manpower of the Red Army had more than doubled, motorization had developed to an average of 13 motor horsepower per man in 1939, as compared with 7.74 horsepower in 1934.

Soviet tank formations had increased by 180 per cent, tanks 191 per cent, and armored cars 750 per cent. The aggregate firing power of the Soviet armored divisions had risen 293 per cent; tank firing power, 350 per cent.

The Soviet Air Force had increased the number of its planes 130 per cent; the speed of its long-range bombers 70 per cent, short-range bombers 88 per cent, pursuit planes 56.5 per cent, and scout and battle planes 67 per cent. Heavy bombers and pursuit planes now made up over 50 per cent of the total Soviet air strength, a tremendous increase of its striking power. In 1934 the Soviet Air Force could carry 2,000 tons of bombs in one flight; in 1939, 208 per cent more. The machine-gun fire of the air force increased by 300 per cent.

Anti-aircraft artillery increased by 169 per cent, heavy artillery by 85 per cent, medium artillery by 26 per cent, and light artillery by 34 per cent. The range of anti-aircraft artillery increased by 60 per cent, the other artillery ranges increasing

* *Militärwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, December, 1935.

** *The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow*. Speeches delivered at the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 10-21, 1939; Moscow, 1939, pp. 274-83.

from 50 to 75 per cent; while the weight and explosive power of all shells were materially increased.

The Red Cavalry increased by 52 per cent. Its firing power was increased by 30 per cent more light machine guns, 21 per cent more heavy machine guns, 31 per cent more anti-aircraft guns, and 43 per cent more artillery. The special tank regiments of the Red Cavalry were increased by 30 per cent, having their own armored car units.

The sinking to date of over 40 Nazi fighting ships, troop ships, and supply ships in the Baltic, and the bombardment of Constanta, demonstrate that in the Red Navy the Soviet Union has an effective defense arm. Increased by 130 per cent more tonnage between 1930 and 1939, the Soviet Navy comprises battleships, cruisers, destroyers, torpedo-speed boats, submarines and auxiliary craft, with a powerful naval air arm.*

During the first month of conflict with the massed armed might of Hitler Germany, the Soviet armed forces have demonstrated terrific striking power on land and sea, and in the air, directed by Soviet military and naval leaders who rank second to none.

The authoritative magazine *Aeroplane*, close to the British Air Command, states in its issue of July 17:

"About 75 per cent of the German air strength had been concentrated on the Eastern Front. For nearly a month it has sought to establish

mastery of the air over the Red Air fleet. So far it seems to have failed."

The *New York Times* of July 20, summing up the results of the first month of the war, says:

"The Five-Year Plans have produced tank for tank and plane for plane against the Germans. And the individual Russian soldier has fought superbly. . . ."

Yes, the Soviet Union was compelled to exert unparalleled efforts, and its people performed heroic deeds and made unremitting sacrifices to develop the defense arm of their native land. The Soviet Union was forced to do this, surrounded as it was by hostile forces. The Soviet Union harbored no illusions in regard to the aims and plans of its enemies. The leaders of the Soviet people did not underestimate the terrific military machine which the Nazi regime, utilizing to the full the mighty industrial forces of Germany, was building up year by year.

The Soviet Government knew full well that Hitler and his masters planned to hurl swarms of war-planes, thousands upon thousands of tanks, and millions of trained troops in mighty lightning onslaughts to achieve world domination. The U.S.S.R. prepared to the limit of its strength.

In 1914-17 the Russian army faced only half of the Kaiser's legions, the other half being engaged on the Western Front. Moreover, Russia was then secure on her Far Eastern borders, since Japan was aligned with the Allied Powers. Today, the Soviet Union is forced to maintain considerable armed

* The data on the Red Navy are taken from *The American Review on the Soviet Union*, published by the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union; August, 1941, pp. 29-31.

forces in the Far East, while meeting the full shock of the Nazi military machine.* In their heroic fight, the people of the U.S.S.R. rely upon the people of the world—that they collaborate, to the limit of their strength, in the common task, the titanic task of annihilating German fascism.

* * *

Front and rear—Red Army men, Red sailors, and Red airmen; peasants and city dwellers; men, women and school children—are displaying a heroism that has already become legend. Their valor is strengthening the faith of the international working class in its own strength; is building up the self-confidence of anti-fascist humanity. The Foreign Minister of Great Britain declares, in echo of the admiration of the world: “The Russians are clearly fighting with magnificent courage.”

In our own country, *The New York Times* declares editorially:**

“Doubt as to whether and in what spirit the Red Army would fight is resolved by the testimony of the Germans themselves. ‘The tenacity with which the German advance is being opposed,’ writes our correspondent in Berlin, ‘appears to exceed in ferocity anything Reichsfuehrer Hitler’s legions have had to contend with since the war began.’ Every dispatch from German head-

quarters emphasizes the ‘fierce counter-attacks’ and ‘fanatic resistance’ of the Soviet troops . . . the morale and courage of the soldier seem to be proved.”

The fascist gangsters boasted that the U.S.S.R. would be crushed in a few weeks. Now, unable to conceal the unprecedented and humiliating slowing-up of the Blitzkrieg, and to quell “insidious doubts and uncertainties” among the German and Italian people, they are driven to warn against “over-confidence.”

Significant is the admission in Italian Foreign Minister Ciano’s organ, the *Leghorn Telegrafo*, for July 14:

“Many people expected to see the Bolshevik regime collapse after a few days of fighting, and they are now becoming somewhat disconcerted because of the Russians’ military efficiency. These people continually ask how is it possible for the Bolsheviks to resist so well if the Soviet regime is so hated by the masses. Thus the resistance tends to make rife insidious doubts and uncertainties.”*

The fascists of Germany and Italy seek to “explain” the non-fulfilment of their boasts by inventing snowstorms, plagues of insects, and “Slav fanaticism” and “Asiatic disregard for life.” By conjuring up new variations of their fascist hatred against the Slav peoples, they seek to bolster their crisis-ridden home-front and to hide the perturbing truth about the Eastern Front.

With such miserable “explanations” the fascists and their accom-

* A United Press correspondent reported from Istanbul on July 19 that the German armies of occupation in conquered Europe have been reduced to a bare minimum to support the attack on the Soviet Union, that Germany now has only 200,000 troops in the Low Countries, 150,000 in France, 40,000 in Norway, and few in the Balkans, where Italian forces have been brought in to police the populations. (*New York World-Telegram*, July 19.)

** July 3.

* *The New York Times*, July 15.

plices everywhere desperately try to deny and conceal the capacity of the toiling people in power to achieve their own military expression; to build their own effective army, air force and navy, with their own commanding personnel; to develop further the military theory of the past and bring forward their own special methods of warfare.

The well-springs of the magnificent morale, discipline and fighting ability of the Red Army run strong and deep: they flow from the homogeneous and unified Socialist people, from the unique economic, political and social qualities of the Socialist society. And, in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and the Balkans, the barbarians of Berlin and Rome are encountering the growing national unity and courage of the subjugated Slav peoples, who today cleave ever more strongly to the side of the great Russian people, their faithful ally in the common battle to crush the fascist oppressors.

The integration of the Red Army and its commanders with the entire Soviet people—an impregnable rear—is the mainspring of its epic heroism, its inexhaustible source of strength. It is that which makes possible the concentration of all the energy, mobility and weight of metal of the Red Army; which determines its technique, its strategy and tactics. The political and moral unity of the Red Army reflects its social composition. Drawn from the Soviet citizenry on an equal and uniform basis, the Army of the Socialist State consists of emancipated toilers from town and countryside.

Marshal Voroshilov, defender today of Leningrad and the North, is a former Lugansk locomotive mechanic, Ukrainian-born son of a railway watchman and a charwoman. Marshal Timoshenko, defender of the Central Front, one-time farmhand, is the son of poor Bessarabian peasants. Marshal Budyenny, who led the First Red Cavalry Army to fabled victory over the White Guards, and now defends Kiev and the Southern Front, was born of poor parents in the Cossack region of the Don. A Lithuanian-Jewish tailor's son and former longshoremen, Lieutenant-General Yakov Shmushkevich, rose to be Commander of the Soviet Military Air Force. These men symbolize the deep roots of the Red Army generals and officers in the Socialist laboring people, in the free and fraternal Soviet nations, the one-time "prison-house of nations."

The traditional class antagonisms and caste divisions between commanding cadres and the ranks are non-existent in the Red Army; there is a basic consciousness of oneness, a relationship of harmony and affection, of inner respect. Voroshilov was able to announce at the Eighteenth Party Congress:

"The problem of satisfying their requirements in officers in time of war is the most difficult problem the armies of capitalist countries have to face. We experience no such difficulty. On the whole and in the main, we have already solved the problem of satisfying the requirements of the army in commanding and other leading personnel and of replenishing them in time of war."

To make the Red Army a great school and cultural force of the Soviet people, unbounded energy has been devoted by the Soviet Government and the Bolshevik Party, under the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, to promote its technical and political education, as well as its general cultural activity.

"Our Red Army," declared Voroshilov in 1936, "a school of Socialist education and training in new technique for millions of people, is among the most active in raising the cultural level of the population. . . . Our Red Army is not only the foundation of our country's defense, but also a school of the new culture of the workers' and peasants' State."

Red Army discipline is the discipline of the conscious citizen of the Socialist State.

Hitler fascism tramples human worth underfoot. Fascist soldiers are driven into battle intoxicated with sub-human hatreds. *Their's not to reason why, Their's but to kill and die!* is the fascist maxim for its cannon-fodder.

The Red Army treasures its men, teaches them to master their speciality—military science, and to develop a rounded-out knowledge of contemporary politics.

The heroism of the Red Army is the Promethean flame enkindled by the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It leaps from the consciousness of the world-significance of the cause for which they are battling—the defense of the Socialist fatherland, the defense of humanity against the monster of fascism.

• • •

The Soviet Union confronts today the full force of German military power.

The army of fascism is a mass military machine, highly mechanized, with a powerful *Luftwaffe* and precisely organized transport. It was built up with feverish concentration from the moment of Hitler's accession to power, with the aim of enslaving the world to German imperialism. Hitler exploited the outraged national sentiments of the German people in the interests of the big bourgeoisie which had placed him in power. With terror and demagoguery he diverted the just striving for an end to the Treaty of Versailles into the cult of imperialist *Lebensraum*, the channel of annexationist and counter-revolutionary wars. Under Goering's slogan, *Guns, not butter*, the Nazi regime concentrated every effort to gear Germany's highly developed industrial economy to its aggressive war program, bleeding the people white, stripping them of all social gains and human rights. The most reactionary sections of finance capital everywhere—the very ones that had fastened the Versailles slavery on Germany—accelerated Hitler's war preparations, openly or covertly hailing him as "Europe's guardian." Without the aid of imperialist and Social-Democratic "appeasers," "non-interventionists," Munichers, and Fifth Columnists, the military Frankenstein of fascism could not have risen.

Churchill referred to this in his radio address of June 22, when he spoke of "the terrible military machine which we and the rest of the

civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up year by year from almost nothing." Yes, how foolishly, as was consistently shown by the U.S.S.R. and by the democratic and peace forces everywhere!

This cumulative treason to democracy gave Hitler the great Skoda and Schneider-Creusot munition plants of Czechoslovakia and France, the iron ore of Spain and Norway, the Rumanian oil fields; it put at his command the vast industries and natural resources of an entire continent, as well as strategic bases for new aggressions, thus greatly increasing the Nazi war potential. That treason of statesmen, bankers, and generals led to the surrender of France and to Hitler's series of cheap victories.

But the Nazi armed power is affected by all the contradictions of fascist imperialism: "a ferocious power, but an unstable one." It reflects the farce of "National Socialism's" claims to have eliminated classes and class antagonisms. It reflects the undermining of the country's economic life through the gorging of the fascist monster war machine with the national income. It reflects the terror against the people at home—the regime of concentration camps and pogroms, of cultural and spiritual debasement. It reflects the gathering indignation of the peoples, in Germany and in the annexed territories, which gives the Nazi army an unreliable rear.

Faced with this snarl of contradictions and—most dangerous of all—its war-compulsion to place

weapons in the hands of German workers and peasants—Nazi imperialism has selected and trained special brutalized officers and formations to form the core of its Panzer shock divisions and its air force. Hitler's armies have to be "cemented" with special S. S. battalions and the Gestapo. But chauvinism and terror cannot prevent the German workers and peasants from eventually putting their revolutionary imprint on Hitler's armies. That specter looming over the German General Staff, together with economic compulsions, brings it to pin all hopes on lightning victories and on its Hoover-Lindbergh-Thomas and Cliveden Sets in both hemispheres.

As an essential element of Blitzkrieg strategy, German fascism long ago sedulously built up its Fifth Column also in the Soviet Union. That menace to the Socialist State was effectively dealt with in 1937-38, when Soviet vigilance destroyed the Trotsky-Bukharin-Tukhachevsky wreckers. By wiping out that traitor camp, Soviet justice, which is clear-eyed, inflicted upon Hitler his first military defeat. Lost to him was his gang of accomplices upon whom he had relied to stab the Red Army in the back, to open a breach for his invasion. Reactionary commentators, with certain Social-Democrats most vociferous, have sought to make the Red Army appear "weakened" in consequence. According to the columnist ex-General Hugh Johnson, "the Russian army is mush." And sighs for Tukhachevsky punctuate the analyses of every anti-Soviet mili-

tary "expert." But increasing admissions, even in the most hostile newspapers, of the "astonishing" resistance and fighting mettle of the Red Army, themselves explode these elegies. Who does not see today that had France rooted out the fascist agents in high places who eventually betrayed her, the city of Vichy would not be today a by-word for perfidy and degradation? And who does not see today that the guarantees for the freedom of America demand the defeat of our Men of Vichy?

* * *

Already, there are many examples that reflect basic antagonisms within Hitler's invading army and his commandeered vassal "phalanxes." German airmen have flown their Junkers 88s and Messerschmitts to Soviet airdromes to surrender them, and to ask for a chance to fight side by side with the Red airmen against Hitler. German and Rumanian soldiers have deserted to the Red Army, calling upon the men in Hitler's armies likewise to turn their bayonets against the fascist gangsters. The Soviet war communiqué of July 16 states:

"When our troops approached an airdrome, eight fascist planes attempted to take off, but because of the bad state of their engines remained on the ground.

"Technician Wilhelm Meyer declared to our command that the technical personnel of the airdrome had decided to surrender to Soviet troops, which had launched an offensive, and for this purpose had put the engines out of action to

prevent the officers from flying away. Twelve mechanics and twenty-seven pilots passed over to us."

A Soviet war communiqué of July 17 brings the news:

"After the complete rout of a group of Rumanian and German troops in a southwestern direction a whole Rumanian battalion went over to our side and voluntarily surrendered. Rumanian and German officers who tried to resist surrender were brought in under the soldiers' escort."

The Germany of Liebknecht and Thaelmann, the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven, the Germany of Marx and Engels, is not dead. The fatal contradictions of the Hitler Reich and its fascist army will make themselves felt with increasing momentum, as the Red Army strikes heavier blows against fascism, as the peoples of America and Britain bring the strength of their countries decisively to bear against Hitler.

The American people are called upon to answer: either full collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union for the military defeat of Nazi Germany—or the subjugation of every land and continent to a Hitlerite "New World Order"; either a National Front to crush Hitlerism—or the reduction of America to a land beleaguered by fascist foes from West and East.

The war is *one war, indivisible*. The Red Army holds the pass for humanity. It shall not be left to hold it alone!

FOR A NATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST YOUTH FRONT!

BY MAX WEISS

WITH unparalleled heroism, two hundred million people of the Soviet Union and their valiant Red Army are fighting to defeat the criminal onslaught of German fascism and its accomplices against their land, their freedom and their independence.

The just cause for which the Soviet people fight and its meaning for America were clearly indicated in the historic speech of Joseph Stalin, Premier of the Soviet Union:

"The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only the elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

"In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots.

"Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties.

"It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and

against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies."

Ever larger numbers of young people of our country look upon the war which the Soviet Union is waging against Hitler fascism and its satellites in exactly this light. That is why the mighty struggle of the Soviet Union to throw back the Nazi aggression has already won the support of millions of young Americans, who hate Hitler and fascism with every fiber in their being and who are stirred to action by the enormously increased fascist threat to the national and social security of the United States.

Inspired by the mighty blows which the Soviet Union has already delivered against the fascist forces, our young people see that the valiant struggle of the Red Army creates the opportunity for uniting the people of our country, together with the people of all countries, in order to assure the complete annihilation of this monster of Hitler fascism.

These sentiments of American youth, shared by the overwhelming

majority of the American people, correspond to the needs of the new world situation brought about by Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union.

The just war of the Soviet Union cannot be regarded separately from the war which Britain and other nations are waging against German fascism. The alignment of the Soviet Union as a belligerent has basically changed the political character of the war against Hitler Germany.

Prior to the involvement of the Soviet Union the war was imperialist on both sides. The governments waging it were motivated by imperialist aims. True, the masses of people were profoundly democratic and anti-fascist; but it was the imperialist ruling classes that determined the character, direction and real aims of the war.

The involvement of the Soviet Union, however, has brought about a different situation. From its very birth, and by the very fact of its existence as a socialist country, the Soviet Union has exerted a decisive anti-imperialist influence on the course of world history. Today, with its two hundred million people inhabiting a territory covering one-sixth of the earth's surface, enjoying the status of one of the most powerful industrial countries in the world, the Soviet Union is a major factor in the shaping of world politics and in determining international relations. The Soviet Union is not only capable of playing a major role in determining the military outcome of the war but also in determining the political results of the military victory over the fascist forces of

Hitler. Thus, the involvement of the powerful Soviet Union in the war gives the people of the whole world a guarantee that the democratic, anti-fascist aims which motivate their struggle against Hitler and fascism will be translated into reality in the course of the war and in the results of the war.

Hence the changed character of the war. With the Soviet Union in it as a major determining factor, it is a just war against Hitler fascism, for the liberation of the nations and peoples of Europe groaning under the yoke of fascist rule or occupation, for the defense of the national security of all countries menaced by Hitler's drive for world conquest.

The attack on the Soviet Union has brought about a second important change for the American people. It has increased enormously Hitler's menace to the national security of our country. We are now faced with the threat of the complete isolation of the United States, of its encirclement by hostile forces in a world of spreading war, of the rapid acquisition by fascism of vantage points for attack upon the United States, and of the final unleashing of war upon the American people by an arrogant and overweening Hitlerite monster bent on world domination.

That is why the defense of the United States, today, insistently demands the military defeat of Hitler fascism and its satellites. That is why peace for America can be secured only by the military defeat of fascism. That is why effective aid to the Soviet Union and all countries fighting Hitler is at the same time

a defense of the national security of the United States.

The Effect on the Youth

Among the many changes which have occurred since Hitler's unprovoked attack against the Soviet Union, one of the most important is the change which has taken place in the mood of the masses of the people, and particularly of the youth. For the first time since the outbreak of the war two years ago there is a firm conviction among the masses that the way is now open for a real people's fight to defeat Hitler, that there are now guarantees for a decisive victory of the peoples over Hitler.

This contrasts sharply with the moods and sentiments of the masses during the first stage of the war, prior to the attack on the Soviet Union. In that period, the basic anti-fascist moods of the masses were tempered by suspicion of the imperialist character of the war. Spokesmen for the bourgeoisie freely admitted that the masses of youth were in a different frame of mind from that which had accompanied the first world war. They spoke openly of the lack of enthusiasm for the war, of the absence of any war-spirit among the youth.

This phenomenon was especially reflected among the large masses of the youth in the United States. It resulted in the development of a widespread discussion about the differences between the generation of 1917 and the generation of 1941. It led to the creation of what could almost be called a special school of discussion devoted to the query:

What is the matter with American youth? Everywhere the cry arose: Give American youth new and significant loyalties, give them a faith to fight for!

The very real basis for this discussion arose from the fact that although there was a tremendous anti-fascist sentiment among large masses of youth, further stimulated by the anti-fascist slogans advanced in support of the war, there was simultaneously a deep feeling that these slogans did not correspond to the character of the war. Hence even the youth that supported the measures of the administration did so reluctantly and without any enthusiasm. Large sections of the youth, definitely and consciously anti-fascist, actively opposed those measures.

The new world situation brought about by the involvement of the Soviet Union in the war has changed all this. The masses of youth have been aroused as never before to the menace of Hitlerism, to the possibility of achieving a real anti-fascist victory, to the fact that the defense of the United States requires active steps to assist in bringing about the military defeat of Hitler and fascism. Undoubtedly, this will make itself felt in the morale of the masses of youth and in the development of energetic and spirited action to establish unity of all honest anti-Hitler forces.

This can be done only in the course of a stubborn struggle against the representatives and spokesmen for the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie who are actively at work among the youth.

In this respect, the Hoover-led forces of the Tunney-Plavner National Foundation for American Youth and the Social-Democratic Youth Committee Against War are the most dangerous enemies of the developing anti-fascist united front among the youth. They are the mouthpieces for Lindbergh, Hoover, Wheeler, Taft, Norman Thomas—the Quislings of America. They want to paralyze the will of the American people for action that will defeat Hitler. They want America to stand aside from this struggle and thus make it easier for Hitler to carry out his plans to isolate our country, encircle it and thus undermine its ability to defend itself against inevitable attack. They are the most dangerous enemies of the American people and the American youth.

In one form or another, they all echo Hitler's lie that Communism is the issue in this war. In this way they want to hide from the American youth the simple fact that German fascism is ruthlessly carrying out its plan for world conquest and for the enslavement of all nations. But the young people of our country must not allow themselves to be duped by this typical Hitler device. Communism is not the issue in this war. German fascism seeks to conquer the world—that is the issue.

Under cover of the slogan “a plague on both your houses,” these people counsel America and Britain to stand aside from the struggle, to let the Soviet Union and Germany fight it out alone in order, so they say, to bring about the defeat of both. But this reactionary advice really conceals a desire to withdraw

all support from the Soviet Union in order to make it possible for fascist Germany to defeat the Soviet Union. Thus, behind this so-called impartial hostility to both the Soviet Union and Germany stands an ill-concealed desire for a victory of fascist Germany over the Soviet Union, a victory which will make it possible for Hitler then to defeat Britain and later to invade the United States.

Under cover of deprecating the power of the Soviet Union and its ability to resist and defeat Hitler fascism, they would like the American people to look upon the struggle of the Red Army as a minor and short-lived “episode” bound to end in the defeat of the Soviet Union. Hence they counsel America not to divert itself from the war in the west by aiding the Soviet Union. This reactionary advice also betrays a desire to separate the war of the Soviet people against Hitler from the war of the British people against Hitler. Once again, behind this deprecating evaluation of the struggle of the Red Army stands the ill-concealed desire for a fascist victory over the Soviet Union, a victory that would open the way to Hitler for world domination.

The ultimate reactionary and treacherous logic of all these varieties of Hitlerite propaganda is summed up in the monstrous proposal of Lindbergh that America ally itself with fascist Germany rather than aid the Soviet Union. Complete surrender to Hitler's plan for world conquest—this is the essence of all the policies advanced by the friends of Hitler in America,

who echo his lie that Communism is the issue in this war!

But there is still another variety of accomodation to the Hitlerite device of raising the Communist issue. There are some people who, unable to resist the popular demand of the masses for aid to the Soviet Union, have half-heartedly declared themselves for aid, but in the same breath propose "conditions," i.e., intervention in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, as its price, and declare that they will not relax their anti-Communist witch-hunt in the United States.

It must be pointed out, of course, that these gentlemen have been compelled to eat crow by renouncing their slanderous "Communazi" epithet, the vicious and inglorious banner under which they previously carried on their red-baiting.

But whatever reasons they may give for "conditions" and whatever specious new basis they may now advance for a continuation of their red-baiting, it must be clear to the youth that they thereby do the work of Hitler.

It is of the essence of Hitler's fascist strategy to incite division and disunity among the people of the democratic countries over the issue of Communism, thus destroying the national anti-fascist unity which is indispensable for the defeat of Hitler and fascism. Red-baiting and witch-hunts accomplish this purpose of Hitler. That is why the young people of our country must set their faces resolutely against all such attempts.

Imbued with a burning hatred of fascism and an intense love of our

country, American youth must repudiate the treacherous advice of these isolationists, appeasers and friends of Hitler.

For Decisive Aid Against Fascism

There is only one issue today, one enemy, one war. On this single issue, against this single enemy, in support of this single war, American youth must establish one national front of the young generation, which will take its stand unreservedly by the side of all those fighting to defeat Hitler.

The Roosevelt Administration has announced that it will give all possible aid to the Soviet Union in its fight to defeat fascism. This statement of policy is in accord with the deepest desire of the masses of American youth. They expect that this policy will be fully and completely carried out in all its practical details and by concrete deeds. They will wholeheartedly support every such measure of the administration which aids the Soviet Union and Britain in their desperate battle against fascism, the implacable foe of all humanity.

This requires the eradication of the hostile anti-Soviet tendencies which are still dominant in important circles of the administration. They stem from the representatives of the most reactionary circles of American finance capital who have grouped themselves around the Roosevelt Administration in the past period and exert a tremendous influence within it. These circles, embracing the Bullitts, the adherents of Munich, the friends of Vichy, are only too ready to compromise

with Hitler and fascism. They are only too eager to yield to the pressure of those who would like to come to terms with Hitler at the expense of the Soviet Union, Britain and the American people.

Only the determined struggle of an alert and vigilant youth organized into an independent mass movement which will fight side by side with the whole people can defeat the pressure of these friends of Hitler, check all tendencies to appease the pro-fascists, and guarantee that the Roosevelt Administration will carry out in deeds its declared policy of aid to the Soviet Union, Britain and all other peoples and nations resisting Hitler.

The broad youth movement has already made significant beginnings in the direction of building a mighty united movement of the masses of American youth committed to the defense of America through the defeat of Hitler. Of the greatest importance, in this respect, was the adoption by the American Youth Congress, at its seventh national gathering in Philadelphia on July 4, of a policy based on the cooperation of the United States with the people of Britain, the Soviet Union and all other peoples fighting Hitler and fascism.

It is worthy of note that this broad youth movement, composed of the most diverse sections of American young people, was capable of reorientating itself quickly in the face of the changed situation created by Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, not only without disturbance of its unity but, on the contrary, with the achievement of a greater

unity than has marked its existence at any time since the war broke out.

What is responsible for this fact?

The more advanced sections of youth, of course, recognized that the involvement of the Soviet Union was a factor which basically changed the character of the war and made necessary the adoption of new policies to accord with this change.

The representatives of the great masses of youth, however, did not immediately see the need for a change in policy from this point of view, since they did not base their attitude toward the war on a scientific analysis of its imperialist character prior to the involvement of the Soviet Union. What then was the factor which influenced the decisions of these large masses of youth in the Christian youth organizations, the student movement, the trade unions and peace groups?

With Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, they saw clearly that there was now involved in military conflict the last friendly neutral country with which the United States could have collaborated in the interests of a just peace and of American defense through limiting the spread of war. They saw that America was now faced with the choice of standing isolated in the face of the fascist monster seeking world domination, or of establishing a new basis of collaboration with the peoples of other countries. They saw that such collaboration, if it were to assure American security, would have to be with those forces fighting to defeat Hitler. The alternative to this could only be the fas-

cist proposal of Lindbergh for an alliance with Nazi Germany. They, therefore, chose unhesitatingly and overwhelmingly the policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union, Britain and all other nations fighting to defeat Hitler.

The changed orientation of the American Youth Congress has met with concurrence and positive response among those broad masses of youth whose activities have been based on the most profound attachment to the goal of peace. These masses are now beginning to see that the only road to peace for America lies through the military defeat of Hitler.

It is this growing understanding which gives assurance that the attachment of American youth to the cause of peace will not be perverted by the isolationists, the Munichers, the pro-fascists. But the development of this understanding will not be an automatic one. This was indicated by the fact that the American Youth Congress, which adopted generally correct policies, reflected also certain evidence of failure to draw full conclusion from the changes which have taken place in the international situation.

For this reason, the delegation representing the Young Communist League at the Congress in Philadelphia was compelled to abstain from voting on the resolution, finally passed by the Congress, declaring itself against an A.E.F. This resolution expressed the attachment of the youth to the cause of peace, a sentiment fully appreciated and shared by the Young Communist League. At the same time, it tended

to obscure the fact that in the present world situation the security of America could only be assured by the military defeat of Hitler and that, therefore, the masses of American youth must be prepared to support whatever measure might become necessary to secure the crushing of the fascist military legions, in the interests of the defense of our country.

The Struggle for Unity of the Anti-Fascist Youth

A second important development in the direction of making it possible to bring about unity of all sections of American youth committed to the defense of America through the defeat of Hitler is the declaration of the Clearing House for Youth Groups. This organization was recently established by the forces led by Joseph Lash as a new center into which it was hoped to draw the organizations and groups whose leaders had left, at one period or another, the American Youth Congress, following the outbreak of the war almost two years ago. Up to the present it has not been very successful in the task set for itself; very few important youth organizations participate in this new center. At the same time, it represents some not inconsiderable forces among the youth. Its attitude toward the new developments flowing from the involvement of the Soviet Union in the war must therefore be taken into account.

The declaration of this center states that "we welcome the help of Soviet Russia in the fight against Hitlerism" and demands "immedi-

ate action to insure delivery of war materials to England and her allies" as well as "an immediate embargo on war materials to Japan in her war of aggression upon China."

In taking this position, the Clearing House for Youth Groups gives expression to the sentiments of the masses of young people in the United States and takes its stand on the side of those who are for the defeat of Hitler and fascism by aid to Britain and the Soviet Union and against the policy of those who are, openly or covertly, for the victory of Hitler.

At the same time, this declaration injures the anti-fascist cause and the development of an effective movement for aid to Britain and the Soviet Union by repeating the false and unfounded lumping together of Communism with fascism and nazism when the great masses of youth are seeing with their own eyes the diametric opposition which exists between Communism and fascism.

Any such procedure cannot but give aid and comfort to the appeasers and Munichmen, who employ precisely that technique in their fight against the extension of aid to Britain and the Soviet Union. It cannot but result in the destruction and weakening of the united struggle of all honest anti-Hitler forces among the youth.

It was for this very reason that the American Youth Congress—which has had years of sorry experience with all tendencies to make concessions in this direction—at its recent Congress in Philadelphia did not even consider for readoption the resolution condemning "Nazi, fas-

cist and Communist dictatorships."

The will of the masses for complete unity in the struggle against Hitler and fascism can only be realized by abandoning all such attempts to lump Communism together with fascism and nazism.

The third important development in the direction of establishing complete unity of all honest anti-Hitler forces among the youth takes the form of growing tendencies among important youth organizations whose connections with the united youth movement were severed or weakened as a result of the attitude taken up by their leadership during the first period of the war to re-establish those relations. This is especially true of important organizations of the Jewish youth, the youth organizations of the various national groups whose countries of origin have been subjugated by Hitler, such as the Czechoslovak and Polish youth, and of certain conservative Christian and student organizations. Undoubtedly, this tendency will grow stronger and will take concrete form as the struggle develops to forge the unity of American youth around a common program to defeat Hitler.

It is clear that this strong tendency toward the establishment of complete unity of all anti-Hitler forces among the youth will, especially in the beginning, take on various organizational forms around many concrete issues of the struggle. Advanced youth have the task of searching out all such organizational forms for anti-fascist unity and the specific issues which will facilitate the most rapid unification

of all the forces of American youth committed to the defeat of Hitler. They must not allow themselves to become the blind partisans of any special movement or organization. Whatever form life itself brings to the fore out of the present regrouping of forces capable of most quickly and most completely establishing the national front of the young generation against Hitler must be supported unhesitatingly by all who have the best interests of our country and mankind at heart.

Inherent in this new situation is the perspective for overcoming the differences in the ranks of the masses of anti-fascist youth of the United States. If the whole first period of the war was characterized by a process of differentiation within the youth movement, and within the youth organizations, as a result of which the masses of anti-fascist youth often found themselves divided from each other by differences in their estimate of the war at that time, then this new stage of the war is already beginning to witness a new process. As a result of this new situation we can already witness beginnings of important steps in the direction of the reunification of all sections of the anti-fascist youth both within the broad youth movement and within the individual organizations, but this time on a much higher level than in the period prior to the outbreak of the second world war and in the specifically new form demanded by the changed world situation.

This development can contribute enormously to the establishment of the international unity of the anti-

fascist youth of all lands. The American Youth Congress has taken the initiative for the convening of a World Congress of Youth, in order to help forge the international unity of the masses of young people in all countries against the forces of fascism. Such a congress, which will represent the embattled youth of Britain and the Soviet Union, the youth in the occupied countries fighting against the Hitler yoke, the youth of Germany who will find their own way of sending their spokesmen to such a congress, the youth of all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, the youth of China, India and the colonial countries—such a congress may have powerful international repercussions. It can serve as a rallying point for the anti-fascist youth of all lands, merging their separate struggles into one mighty victorious international struggle to defeat Hitler and the forces of fascism and reaction.

The Leading Role of the Working Class Youth

In the development of this anti-fascist front of the young generation it is the working class youth which must take the leadership in rallying all sections of young people, in unifying them and allying them with the organized labor movement. The working class youth can and must do this because it is the most determined and unwavering enemy of fascism and reaction and because it is the working class and the organized labor movement which must act as the backbone for

the united people's movement against fascism.

More than ever before, the necessary conditions exist which enable the working class youth to take up such a position of leadership and responsibility in the broad anti-fascist youth movement. The organized labor movement now embraces more than ten million workers, largely in the key industries of the country. With negotiations now going on for a contract between Republic Steel and the S.W.O.C., and with the huge Ford plant completely organized, the last powerful citadels of the open shop symbolized by Ford and Girdler have been conquered. Together with their families and friends, this army of millions of workers is in a position to influence decisively all the affairs of the nation and guarantee that the administration will really carry into deeds its declared policy of aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and all other peoples fighting fascism.

The working class youth itself plays an ever-increasing role in both industry and the organized labor movement. Hundreds of thousands have been drawn into industry for the first time, especially into the key defense industries, aircraft, shipbuilding, machine industries and munitions plants. As a result, the working class youth are beginning to play an outstanding role in the life of the trade union movement and in its leadership. There are today as many youth organized in the trade unions of the country as in the most important youth-serving organizations in the country put together.

Flowing from this new development, there are beginning to emerge the outlines of a mass working class youth movement organized around, and based on, the trade unions. This working class youth will be capable, with the help of the trade unions, of acting as the solid core of a united youth movement, strengthening its alliance with the labor movement and thus guaranteeing its effective functioning as part of a vast national front against fascism and reaction and for the defeat of Hitler.

With every section of the organized labor movement in agreement on the fundamental policy of effective aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and all peoples fighting fascism, in agreement on support for a full and comprehensive program of national defense, the basis exists for unity of action of the entire labor movement. Such united action of the American labor movement would create a solid foundation for strengthening the alliance which already exists between the most important sections of the youth movement and the most important sections of the organized labor movement. It is the special task of the working class youth to work in such a way as to strengthen, reinforce and complete this alliance between labor and youth.

The working class youth have repeatedly given evidence that they are prepared to put all their strength, all their enthusiasm, all their talents and energies at the service of the common cause of defending America and bringing about the military defeat of fascism. Hundreds of thousands of youth in all

the most important defense industries are even today working conscientiously and loyally to turn out a steadily increasing cloud of planes, bridge of ships, swarm of tanks and batteries of guns needed to inundate the fascist forces of Hitler and inflict a crushing military defeat upon them.

This was dramatized by the facts brought out in the course of the Inglewood strike. Attention centered on the workers of the North American Aviation plant as a result of the strike revealed that approximately 70 per cent were youth below the age of 30. So noticeable was this fact that the press made it a subject for special comment in its news columns and editorials.

The age composition of the North American Aviation workers is typical of practically the entire aviation industry. The huge increase in the number of workers employed by the aviation industry has come predominantly from the youth. This is true, for example, of the Vultee, Boeing, Consolidated, Douglas, and Glenn Martin plants. In fact, the Glenn Martin plant in Baltimore, employing upwards of 20,000 workers, is commonly referred to as "Boys Town."

What is true of the aviation industry is also true of most of the defense industries. All of them have been dipping heavily into the ranks of the youth to man their expanded plants.

But the motive of the corporations in following this policy is a most reprehensible one. It is based on the desire of the employers to recruit their workers from among the youth

who have hitherto been out of industry and who, therefore, the employers assume, have not been infected with the germ of unionism.

The rapid-fire organizing campaign conducted in the aviation industry as well as other industries, and the tenacity and loyalty with which the youth have supported their new unions, testify to the miserable failure of the anti-union policies of the corporations. This indicates that the mass of working class youth are a powerful reserve and a bulwark of the trade union movement in the United States, capable of giving the most stirring examples of militancy and courage in the fight for their just demands.

The reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie have come to the same conclusion. Its desire for the use of newly employed youth as a non-union or anti-union reserve frustrated, the bourgeoisie is beginning to demand that special measures be taken to prevent the militant working class youth from playing their proper role in the trade unions and its leadership.

Surely the labor movement will reject any such attempt. Instead, it will develop further its correct policy of taking special measures to increase the participation of the youth in all union activities and in positions of leadership in the trade union movement.

The strike of the North American Aviation workers gave voice to the demands of tens of thousands of youth in the defense industries for decent wages. In all these cases the employers have drawn upon the youth under the impression that in

the young workers they would be able to get a source of cheap labor.

This design of the employers was cynically revealed in the course of negotiations between the Inglewood aviation union and the corporation officials—in the attitude of Kindlerberger, President of the North American Aviation Corporation. The high-handed and contemptuous attitude of this Wall Street mogul is described thus by Lew Michener, West Coast regional director of the U.A.W.:

“The management, during the entire negotiations, never offered to budge off their 50 cents an hour. Kindlerberger stated, during the negotiations, he felt 50 cents was enough for these young punks who would only buy gas to run around in their jalopies and take their girl friends out over the week-end.” (PM., June 10, 1941.)

The militant struggle of the young North American strikers against this cynical policy of discriminatory wage rates for youth labor indicates that the masses of American youth will not permit the bourgeoisie to carry out its plan for cutting union standards through a system of cheap youth labor. They will fight side by side with the adult workers to establish union standards and a higher minimum wage for all plants in all industries.

The whole trade union movement is fast beginning to realize that the fight to abolish the cheap youth labor system which is now covered up by a perversion of the apprenticeship system is vital to the whole wage structure in the United States.

Unless this practice can be checked and abolished and a basic rate of pay established for apprentices, learners and beginners, the tendency will be for all minimum rates to be pulled down to that of the apprentices. Hence the fight for a higher minimum for apprentices, learners and beginners, equal to the basic pay rate, is a basic demand of the American trade union movement.

Meet the Needs of the Youth and of Defense

The building of the weapons which will destroy Hitler requires that the abilities and services of all our youth be put to work behind the common cause. The embattled democracies are in desperate need of the sinews of modern war in the battle against fascism. Democracy which is fighting for its life cannot afford a young generation which is locked out of industry. And yet, despite the fact that the defense needs of our country are constantly growing, no appreciable dent has been made in the more than two and a half million youth who are still out of school and out of work. In the interests of advancing the program for the defense of America which is inseparable from the well being of its youth, jobs must be found for these young people at trade union wages and under trade union conditions.

They can be put to work. The labor movement, in the proposals of C.I.O. President Philip Murray, has elaborated plans which will, if carried out, result in a tremendous increase in production in the aircraft,

steel and aluminum industries. The operation of these plans will make it possible to utilize the inexhaustible reservoir of productive energy which is now allowed to remain untapped because more than two and a half million youth are unemployed.

The working class, the youth, the whole American people have the right to demand an answer to the question which is inevitably posed by this situation. Why are these plans not adopted? Why is production of the materials of war against fascism not increased? Why are the unemployed not put to work?

It is the monopolies, the huge corporations, the most reactionary sections of American capitalism whose opposition stands in the way of adopting and putting into operation these plans for increasing production and putting our unemployed youth and people to work. The truth must be spoken plainly. It is not the just demands of the workers and the enforcement of these demands against reactionary employers which are responsible for holding up production. No! It is the greed of these monopolies and corporations!

Their insatiable hunger for enormous and inordinate profits is holding up the defense program, is therefore depriving the embattled democracies of planes, tanks, guns, ships, bombs which are needed to crush fascism. It is in these circles that the search must be conducted for those who are sabotaging our defense program.

Until such time as our youth are able to secure employment in pri-

vate industry, Federal aid must be granted them on projects beneficial to the defense of our country and the social well being of our people. Enactment of the American Youth Act, as demanded by the youth movement, is still the only immediate solution of this crying need. In the meantime, a great deal can be accomplished in this direction by working for the extension of the National Youth Administration to many times its present size, for its democratization and its adjustment in all matters of wages, hours and working conditions to the standards established by the trade union movement.

The recent reorganization of the National Youth Administration on the basis of "work experience" projects makes it imperative that such adjustment of N.Y.A. be made at once in order to stop its development as a source of cheap labor undercutting labor standards in all fields. The hundreds of thousands of youth now employed on these N.Y.A. "work projects" are engaged in actual productive work, turning out finished products for the defense program. They do production work for which trade unions have long established standards of hours and wages. Despite this fact, a recent Federal order has decreed that youth employed on these "work projects" must be employed for 120 hours a month at the shameful wage of \$25 per month—lower even than the minimum set by the Minimum Wages and Hours Law! Such a cheap labor program operated by the Federal government not only subjects the youth to inhuman ex-

ploitation, but sets a pattern of low wages and long hours which encourages every employer and industrialist to undermine the wages and hours structure won by the labor movement after many years of struggle. This state of affairs must be changed at once and brought into conformity with the real interests of the defense of our country and the well being of our youth.

The operation of the defense industries requires that our youth be trained as qualified and skilled workers. This can be done only if the defense training program now under operation by the Federal government is administered under conditions proposed by the labor and progressive youth movement with the organizations of labor and the youth permitted to play a decisive role on all national and local boards administering the defense training program. Only in this way can the people defeat the plans of the corporations and trusts to utilize this training program as a method of securing cheap youth labor for the defense industries. The defense training program must be completely democratized; its service must be made available, and its personnel selected without discrimination against the trade unions and their members. All discrimination against Negro youth in the training program must be ended.

By fighting for such a program based on the defense needs of our country and the well being of our youth, the working class youth of America will help to strengthen the trade unions, increase their influence in the affairs of the nation,

unite them behind the common cause, and realize the alliance between the labor movement and the developing anti-fascist front of the young generation.

The enormously increased threat of Hitler fascism to the national security of the United States raises before the American people as a preeminent and vital question the strengthening in every possible way of the military defenses of our country. Already almost one and a half million youth are now in the armed forces being trained for national defense. These youth, reflecting the sentiments of the whole American people, are prepared to make whatever sacrifices are necessary for the defense of our country and its security. The whole history of our country is proof of the fact that our youth are not pacifist, that they are prepared to fight, and if need be to die, in defense of the just cause of the security of our country, our people and its democratic institutions.

Such strengthening of the military defense of our country raises a host of complicated and technical questions of a military nature into a discussion beyond the scope of this article. But there are certain phases of such military problems which take on a crucial political importance for the American people and upon which, therefore, we must state our opinion.

The proposal of the General Staff of the United States Army, supported also by the Roosevelt Administration, for extending the period of draft service of the youth conscripted since last October is such a problem. Prior to the

change in the international situation, we opposed all proposals for extension of the period of service for draftees. But the present international situation is of such gravity, and represents such a threatening menace to the security of the United States, that we must state clearly and unequivocally our complete support to the proposals of the Army General Staff for extension of the period of draft service for the duration of the unlimited national emergency.

The proposal of the isolationists to demobilize the American Army at the very moment when our country faces the gravest menace that has ever threatened it in all its history is a monstrous one. It is an invitation to disaster.

This is the time to strengthen, and not to weaken, the military defenses of America!

This strengthening of our military defenses will be accomplished, not only by increasing their numerical strength and fighting quality, but also by an all-around democratization of the armed forces.

Such democratization of the armed forces is indispensable to the establishment of the highest type of morale in the fighting branches of the service. This means that promotion from the ranks on the basis of merit and ability, and not social prestige, political or family connections, must become the method of advancement and assignment of rank. It means that all Jim-Crow discrimination against Negro youth now called up for training in the armed forces must be completely abolished. It means that the armed

forces must not be used against the labor movement; the infamous "work-or-fight" order must be rescinded. The local draft boards must be so composed that the representatives of labor and the people play a determining role in their activity. The needs of the conscripts for increased wages, greater reduction in fares while on furlough, the right to receive the publications of labor and progressive organizations must be assured.

The whole labor and progressive youth movement must accept and carry out its responsibilities in this work of improving the well being and morale of our armed forces. With government support, a number of organizations active among youth have grouped themselves together into the United Service Organizations, now campaigning for \$11,000,000 to service recreational facilities which are being established by the government. This worthy cause deserves the support of the masses of American youth, who are seriously concerned with the morale and welfare of the armed forces. For this very reason the labor and progressive youth movement can only look with well-founded apprehension at certain known pro-fascists and reactionaries who have been brought into positions of leadership in the U.S.O. At the same time, the labor and progressive youth movement does not yet exercise any determining influence in its various local committees. This situation must be changed through the democratization of the U.S.O., with the representatives of labor and the progressive youth movement allowed to play

their proper role in establishing its policies and in helping to administer the facilities that will be created with the money raised by the U.S.O.

In addition, the labor and progressive youth movements have the responsibility of helping in every way possible to maintain the proper ties with the youth who are now in the armed forces and to assure their well being. The announcement by the American Youth Congress that it intends to launch a nationwide campaign to collect hundreds of thousands of packages of cigarettes for the men in the armed forces under the slogan "Help Smoke Out Hitler!" is but a bare beginning. It should spur the whole labor and progressive movement on to the fulfillment of its many-sided responsibilities to the million and a half youth in the armed forces.

Around such a many-sided program of united struggle to defend America by helping to defeat fascism the masses of American youth will rally with enthusiasm and determination.

The Young Communist League places itself in the front ranks of the masses of youth who put all their strength, courage and capacity for struggle in the service of the common cause—the defeat of fascism.

The Young Communist League has the task, as part of the broad youth movement, of being the most stalwart and far-seeing fighter for the rapid and complete unification

of the ranks of the masses of youth in the fight against fascism. It can make its special contribution to the youth by a persistent and tireless work of education of the masses to the real issues of the war, the true role of the Soviet Union and its socialist democracy.

We cannot accept the not so well meaning advice of certain people who have told us that the best thing the Communists can do now is to keep quiet. No! To keep quiet now would be a crime against the youth and against the people. We intend to speak up boldly as we have always done on every issue affecting the welfare of the youth.

The great responsibilities devolving upon the Young Communist League require that it build itself into an organization many times its present size, thoroughly educating its members and the youth in the spirit of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

At the same time that we reject the gratuitous advice of those who would like to silence us, we must be on guard against any tendencies to work in a sectarian manner, to advance slogans not in keeping with the concrete tasks of today.

Hard struggles are ahead for the youth of our nation. Many sacrifices will have to be made. But in the end, surely and inevitably, victory will be ours, because the cause for which we fight, for which the Soviet Union and the British people fight, is a just cause.

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